THE REVOLT OF YOUTH

STANLEY HIGH

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WORKING OUT THEIR OWN SALVATION. EUROPEAN STUDENTS AT WORK IN THE FIELDS

The Revolt of Youth

By

STANLEY HIGH

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TO
FRANK MASON NORTH

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PREFACE

A FLOOD of pessimistic literature, some of it setting the date of the final collapse of to-day's culture not more than two hundred years hence, and all of it agreeing that our civilization is in a state of progressive decay, is bringing the mind of the reading public to a state of drenched despair. Nor is this condition made less actual by the fact that many books which, through their major portions, draw calamitous conclusions from the present state of world affairs, contain tucked within a few pages some cherished scheme for world redemption.

That much, perhaps most, of the day's news gives support to these cries of the apostles of pessimism it is impossible to deny. And it is equally apparent that a too-easy optimism may become, in like manner, a menace to straight thinking. But the pessimists have had their day —and say. And it is a question whether both have not been extended beyond the point which the facts justify. There are certain great constructive forces at work, even in Europe, which this literature for the most part ignores. Among those forces perhaps the most significant is the spirit of the world's youth, who, in the face of difficulty and repeated disillusionment, are

carrying on, in school and out, toward a better day in which youth still believes.

It is of this youth movement—this revolt of youth—that I have chosen to write, not because in it is to be found a cure-all for the world's ills; and not because I am unmindful of other forces, sometimes even more powerful, which are working contrary to its purposes, but because it represents, in the midst of so much despair, a spirit in which one may find hope, if only a little hope, for a reconstructed world. If in writing I have omitted the darker side of the picture, the omission has been a conscious one, dictated not by an unfamiliarity with that side, but by the feeling that the facts pertaining to it have been so frequently and so extensively set forth elsewhere that to attempt to include them here would greatly extend the scope of this book and add nothing to the particular theme under consideration.

This literature of pessimism not only ignores—is obliged to ignore—certain great constructive facts in the present world-situation, but by its very existence it hastens the day wherein its own dire prophecies will be fulfilled. Pessimism itself is a most certain indication of retrogression. This is a fact of which scientists take increasing cognizance.

Dr. Thomas S. Baker, acting president of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, in addressing the December, 1922, meeting of the American

Association for the Advancement of Science, declared: "The energy of the race can be conserved only through new ideas, new discoveries, and the application of these discoveries. If the springs of inspiration dry up, if the desire for exploration into new fields should subside, if the sources of intellectual power should for any reason be stopped, progress would be at an end. And at the very basis of all human conservation must be placed an optimistic world-view and a faith in the idea of progress."

I have desired, therefore, to present the material in the present volume, not only because it has been almost completely ignored in previous accounts of the trend of world affairs, but because it is in itself of such a nature as to contribute toward a strengthening of faith in the idea of progress and in this higher conservation.

I am very grateful to Dr. Samuel Guy Inman and Dr. Arthur Daniel Berry for their chapters on South America and Japan, which have helped me to present a more comprehensive survey than I was in a position to make. To many other friends throughout Europe and Asia who have helped to gather and shape this material, to Mr. Hugh B. Fouke, Jr., who helped me with translation, and particularly to Mr. J. Earl Gilbreath, a companion of unfailing spirit, I wish to express the most real appreciation.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER I

THEIRS NOW TO REASON WHY

The youth of Europe, going about youth's meaningless odd jobs, were suddenly taken from their apprenticeships in August, 1914, and given the task of saving a threatened civilization. From the seclusion of inexperience they became, overnight, the center of world attention. Their importance was proclaimed from flaming placards and in the impassioned speeches of elder patriots in city halls and parliaments. To them, for four years, the faith and hope of the world were fixed. It appeared, even, that the purposes for which the Great War was waged were arranged to conform to ideals which youth would arise, spontaneously, to defend. Not for the youth of Europe only but for the youth of the world this was the supreme hour. The war needed the youth to fight it. Out there the great adventure waited and the world watched with bated breath while they went out to meet it.

It was early in the fall of 1917. America, at the task of building up a war machine, needed aviators. The War Department had asked for young men—college-trained young men—and, in asking, pictured the aviator as the modern Pegasus

riding atop the clouds, the guardian of war's romance, and aviation the arm of offense which, finally, would be called to finish the job.

We were in San Antonio for the examinations. For an entire day at Fort Sam Houston we had gone up, one by one, to stand before the intelligence board in mental inquisition. Waiting our turn outside the offices, in the army's inevitable line, we found little encouragement in observing the number who went in to the ordeal before us and returned with the unmistakable air of rejection. It was clear enough that only young men, fit mentally and physically, were wanted.

And then, during the day following, from seven until six, we were passed from the hands of one medical specialist to another for physical examination. At the end, those who still survived the myriad and ingenious tests were lined up and further questioned. Some of the men, it appeared, were too old for aviation. Aviation, we were curtly told by the officer in charge, was a job for younger men. It required quick thinking, unerring judgment, and cool self-confidence. A man of twenty-seven or thirty years of age, however well he might stand in the mental and physical examinations, would have little chance in ground school or on the flying field in competition with a youth of nineteen or twenty-one. America, clearly, was out to win the war with her youth.

But America was not alone in this. They were

British youths who went out to stand with England's first hundred thousand; and Wandervoegel lads from German *gymnasiums* who, as volunteers, were swept into the army in the great wave of patriotism which flooded Germany in 1914; and college students who filled the quotas of America's first officers' training camps. European universities were depopulated. Each new class, coming on, went from prep school to training camp and the trenches. For four years the youth of Europe carried on the desperate business of destruction. And if, as the struggle dragged on, the demand exceeded the supply and the ranks where they had stood were filled by older men, it was still the youth spirit which was called upon to meet every drive and carry forward every new offensive.

Then came the armistice and demobilization. The world situation, being no longer a matter of blood and iron, of "quick thinking, unerring judgment, and cool self-confidence," reverted to the hands of the elder statesmen. The youths who had been taken, in August, 1914, from meaningless odd jobs were left to find their own bewildered way back to their old apprenticeships. And now, after four years of green tables and attempted peace, the spirit of youth is once again reasserting itself. There are no placards or oratorical appeals to herald its reappearing, only the kindly tolerance of maturer minds for what, in times of peace, are called "youthful idealisms."

And if now the youth spirit is no longer called upon to meet new drives and carry forward new offensives, it can be seen at work in nationalist uprisings and new declarations of independence, in discontent of oppressed minorities, in attempted monarchist restorations, and in widespread revolt against the politics of disorder which perpetuate all that youth fought to destroy.

In the midst of world conditions where so much is oppressive despair this reassertion of the spirit of youth presents one—perhaps the only—constant factor of hopefulness. Among the youth—in disregard for the ascendency of the old order—there still persists a faith that out of the present turmoil a new and better world may yet emerge. True, they do not go about as the heralds of a renaissance. Many of them, if questioned, would disclaim all belief in such a possibility and look to its coming with dread. But while the elder statesmen continue to carry on behind barbed barricades, the youth of the world have set about it to clear away the physical and the mental debris of war. They are finding themselves, in that undertaking, confronted with common disillusionments and common difficulties, in the sharing of which they are approaching a common ground of understanding. Whatever their profession may be, the spirit in which these difficulties are being met is the spirit of a new day.

It is out of great disillusionment that this

youth spirit has arisen to reassert itself. The youth who fought, see, now, that though they sacrificed to usher in a new day, the principles by which statesmen proposed to build it have been stamped as "idealistic" and consigned, again, to the custody of pulpit and of chair. They see the cauldron of hates and prejudices left by the war and the suffering following in its wake, and, remembering their comrades who will remain in northern France and Italy, in Russia and Mesopotamia, they have begun to ask whether these men died in vain.

It was not for love of it that the youth of the world gave of themselves for four years to accomplish their own destruction. They went out to fight in defense of home and state and to establish justice. And now, with home and state and justice more than ever imperiled, they are coming to see the terrible futility of it all. The youth who fought begins to realize that the ideals for which he believed himself to be fighting were much the same ideals that inspired the youth against whom he fought. He sees now that whatever spontaneous response there was to the call to arms in the Great War came in answer to idealistic appeals which were much the same in all of the nations engaged. And in view of the post-war world it seems plain enough that these ideals were dictated much more by the demands of immediate necessity than by a sincere belief in their eventual effectiveness. The war needed the youth

of the world to fight it. Without such appeals they never could have been rallied to its support.

The lads who volunteered to fight in the German army in 1914 went out to fight for "Haus und Herd." And the Oxford and Cambridge men who crossed the channel with England's first contingents, they, too, went out to stand in a thin line of defense for Britain and for British homes. Now, in Oxford and in Cambridge one sees the names, long, endless lists of them—not of the men who went, but of those who did not return. In the halls of Magdalen College, above the stone memorial tablets there, is this inscription: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." In Göttingen and Heidelberg and Leipsic, one sees like endless lists of the youth who fell. And at Berlin, above the entrance to a famous seminar, over stone memorial tablets like the tablets at Magdalen College, one may read: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

It is equally true that much of the hatred, which, like idealism, is a requisite part of the incongruities of a successful war, was the manufactured product of necessity. Europe abounds with thriving hates and prejudices which go to the very foundations of national and racial history. But fundamental and bitter as these may be, the further fomentations of well-planned propaganda were needed to breed passions of suffi-

cient intensity to prosecute a world war such as this. And now, the machinery of hate having ceased to operate, the youth of the world are coming to recognize the superficiality of the emotions which—like a gas mask and a bayonet —were essential for battle purposes.

It is in understanding of this that in an English college beneath a list of its English graduates who fell are written the names of Germans—former students there—killed in the German army, while on a stone above them all "Pro Patria" is inscribed. And the tablet above the entrance to the seminar in Berlin bears, with its fallen German students, the name of a Frenchman who once had studied there and who died fighting for France.

On a hike one day with a group of students in the hills near the German city of Jena, I fell in with a young German who had served throughout the war. Our acquaintance began, in fact, when he caught me as I lost my footing on the narrow path we were following and pulled me back to safety. It was a coincidence that both of us had been aviators. Four years before we were plotting—each against the other—falls considerably more dangerous than that which had just threatened me. Our time and energy were consumed with preparation each for the other's destruction. But this day our conversation turned to a good-natured argument over the comparative qualities of the allied and German air forces: their planes

and engines and the fighting spirit of their pilots, much the same as a Yale man, following the big game, might meet a Harvard man and argue, in retrospect, the merits of the two teams.

The hatred of the youth of enemy countries dwindles to the insignificance of college rivalries when they meet thus, face to face. It is only when they are kept apart, when the channels of common understanding between them are choked with the refuse of international intrigue, that loyalty breeds prejudice and devotion breeds hate and patriotism begets the flaming passions of war. To see the common purposes for which all youth were fighting and to realize the great gulf fixed between the world for which they fought and the world which has resulted from their fighting—this is the disillusionment which four years of peace have brought.

But the spirit of youth is rising again, not alone from disillusionment, but out of the suffering which has followed the war. For many of the youth of central and eastern Europe—forced unwillingly to fight for empires whose destruction they, themselves, were seeking—there was little spontaneous response to the call to arms such as one found in England and France and Germany and the United States. But all of them returned to find the social structure on which they were preparing to build their lives completely shattered. So complete, in fact, was this destruction that their problems were not so much those of

adaptation and readjustment, but of food and clothes—of freezing and starvation. And if the ultra-idealistic declarations of a new day are lacking among them—and one cannot wonder that they are—a new day will, none the less, be required to give expression to the spirit in which thousands of the student youth of central and eastern Europe are persisting, in the face of unparalleled adversity, with their life preparation. Some of the evidences of that spirit will be pointed out in later chapters. Suffice it here to indicate something of these difficulties to serve as a background for understanding more fully the way in which they are being met.

Refugee students form a large element in the student population of central and eastern Europe and it is, of course, among these that postwar conditions have brought about the greatest suffering. Many students who were studying away from their country, due to the outbreak of the war or some convulsion in their homeland, have had communications with it entirely cut off. Not only are they unable, in most cases, to return, but their resources are entirely destroyed and, especially in the case of the twelve thousand Russian refugee students, they are unable to communicate at all with their home. Then, too, many students, in the successive waves of civil war and revolution which have swept across these countries, finding themselves on the losing side, have been obliged to flee from their country. Of this class are many

Hungarian students who fled into Austria as one revolution succeeded another; and, likewise, many Russians who fought against the dominant regime and for whom return would mean execution. A great number of students were found in prison camps in Germany and Poland at the end of the war, particularly Russian students, and most of these have been released and have secured permission to enter universities.

It is also true that many students, though in their own countries, are, nevertheless, refugees. The refugee students in Hungary to-day are of this class. They come from the territories transferred under the Peace Treaty from Hungary to Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia respectively. To this class belong the students, whether Armenians, Turks, or Greeks, who have lost home and family through successive wars, revolutions, and massacres in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. To-day practically every Armenian student is a refugee. There are six hundred Greek refugee students in the University of Athens.

The reasons which prevent these men from returning home are as various as their circumstances. Unwillingness to take the oath of allegiance to the existing government in the land of their birth and consequent fear of punishment or death; lack of funds for the return journey; inability to get permits to return; the impossibility of finding universities where they can study

in their own language after returning; a very great desire to finish with their professional studies without loss of time and to enter a permanent field of work—all of these considerations enter in to make difficult their immediate return.

Among these twenty-five thousand refugee students there is the greatest suffering. Nearly all of them have passed through successive stages of war, imprisonment, epidemic, and starvation. They are often nervously exhausted or otherwise in bad health. Tuberculosis is rampant among them, and work is, therefore, almost impossible; to secure success in their studies still more difficult. And constantly the refugee finds the future growing darker. When he seeks work he discovers a prejudice against the employment of the foreigner or even a boycott against him. Even where groups of refugees have been well received at first, as year after year passes and they cannot return, assistance is withdrawn. In many cases the refugee student has lost all his relatives or is completely cut off from news of them. He gets no supplies from home and has no resources upon which to rely, no clothes, no money, no home. He is a prey of isolation and despair, and if not helped to conquer his circumstances, often degenerates and becomes a menace.

The story of a young Russian student of electrical engineering who was my guide and interpreter in Warsaw is typical. Five years ago—when fifteen—his life threatened by revolutionists,

he was obliged to flee from his home in southern Russia. He sought refuge in Baku, where, finally, he was captured. In 1920, at the age of eighteen, after two and one-half years in a prison camp, he escaped to Persia and made his way to English army headquarters. With an English passport —a document of doubtful value in that part of the world—he set out on foot for Constantinople. By tramping at night and hiding with friendly peasants during the day he finished his journey, half starved, without hat or coat, his prison-camp trousers ragged, and his boots worn through. By lucky chance, however, he fell in with a group of Russian refugees bound for Poland and, as a stowaway in their overcrowded train-carriage, he reached the city of Warsaw, destitute of friends and money.

But destitution did not prevent him from registering immediately in the school of electrical engineering. There, during the morning, he attends lectures; from noon until ten at night he works at a variety of odd jobs; and then until one o'clock at night he studies in shifts with his twenty roommates about two impossible oil lamps. He showed me his room, or, rather, his cot, packed in a room in a dilapidated army barracks. For five years he has heard no word from his parents in Russia. But, like his fellow students, he is working desperately for no other purpose than to fit himself for the day when his country is reopened and he will be able to return and aid in

its reconstruction. It is among these men that the leadership for that day must be found.

Among the women students life is even more difficult. The governments which, by pensions or loans, make some provision for the men who served through the war and now are continuing their studies, do nothing for women students, even for those who have been in the service. Then, too, the rough-and-ready quarters which can be found for men are entirely unsuitable for women, and their health is much more speedily undermined through hardship.

It was in the office of the European Student Relief in Vienna. A woman student of medicine—a Pole—had asked for an interview. Her problems were of the usual kind confronting women refugee students. Her father, a major in the Austrian army, had died ten years before and with her mother and sister she had come to Vienna. The mother, whose pension amounts to three hundred Polish marks a month—a few cents—is obliged to do district nursing, the sister gives private lessons, while in addition to her laboratory and classroom work she spends two or three hours a day translating German into Polish for newspapers. For this much of the problem there would be no complaint, although it was evident enough that she needed clothes and nourishing food.

But this is the serious part of her situation. She is within one year of completing the long and

exacting medical course. Suddenly the university authorities publish a ruling compelling foreign students to pay fees twenty-three times as much as Austrian students. And she is thus obliged to raise an absolutely impossible sum or quit the university. In countless similar cases there was simply no alternative. It was her good fortune, however, that a group of British and Dutch students passing through Vienna heard of her need and raised the needed amount among them.

Difficulties of this kind are not confined to refugee students. To a greater or less degree they are found among all of the 250,000 students of eastern and central Europe. The European Student Relief Fund, alone, has ministered to the needs of seventy thousand students in that part of the world and started them in the task of helping themselves.

Take, for instance, postwar student developments in Germany. Without money, with no clothes save their army uniforms, the German students, in 1919, returned to school. They came back—many of them—to sleep twenty in a room where six could have slept with comfort, and to live on one or two warm meals a week. Their only negotiable asset was a grim determination to continue their studies. The students who had no money—and most of them had none—were obliged to accept work which would have meant immediate degradation in prewar days. Of the great organization in which German students

have pooled their miseries and united for their own salvation I will speak in a later chapter.

I stood in line with them in the student mensa in the School of Technology at Dresden and ate their poor fare: potato soup it was—with a great slice of coarse bread for the second course. Twice a week they served meat—poor meat, at that; but the noon meal cost only eight marks and the evening meal six marks—about three and one-half and two and one-half cents each—and the most aristocratic corps students could afford no better.

But they were paying the price of undernourishment, for their faces were drawn and flushed, and my student-host, who had charge of the kitchen, replied significantly, when I asked about recreation: "We have found that with extra work and studies the sports we most enjoy are a little too strenuous for us.

My friend kept a little book outside the door of the mensa. He called it his "kick-register." In it the men entered comment on the food; always, however, over their own signature. Some of them read: "Extremely worth the price"; "Some sour pieces of meat," followed by, "More sour than meat"; "Potato soup again"; "Good but little." But most frequent of all was this: "Genug und gut" ("Enough and good"). For my part I made no comment but took my friend back with me to my hotel, where we had what he called "My first prewar meal in eight months."

One may ask why students continue to study in overcrowded universities in such conditions and in the face of whole populations in a state of semi-starvation. In those countries where conditions are worst, that is, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russia, the supply of students at the present time is not equal to the countries' minimum demand for professional men. In all of these countries, it will be noted, an entirely new state has been created out of the war or attempts are being made to build up a state on a new basis. In none of them are there enough professional men to meet the rapidly developing demand of the new order.

Take, for instance, the shortage of teachers in Poland. In prewar times, under the old regimes, eighty per cent of the population was illiterate. During the war educational opportunities were offered to the Polish army by the Y. M. C. A. and other similar organizations, and practically every soldier learned to read. The great eagerness of these men for further education simply could not be satisfied, because of an inadequate supply of teachers. In Poland, also, there is an almost disastrous lack of doctors, engineers, agriculturalists, and other men with technical training. In Polish Galicia, when typhus was raging, there was only one doctor for every 150,000 of the population.

In Czecho-Slovakia there are enough doctors and engineers but there is a shortage of teachers,

especially in Slovakia, where illiteracy is over 80 per cent and where necessary schools cannot be opened for lack of teachers. In Russia it is calculated that since 1914, 30,000 doctors, one third of the whole medical faculty of the country, have perished in war and epidemics.

On the other hand there are certain countries wherein the supply of students exceeds the maximum demand of these countries for professional men. Germany, Austria, and Hungary are in this position. But the number of students likely to be superfluous appears considerably greater than it actually is, for two reasons: In the first place, the enormous number of students, 120,000 in the universities of Germany, and 20,000 in Austria, is due partly to the presence of large numbers of men who have come back to the university after years of military service to complete studies begun before the war. This piling up of the classes due to the war is an abnormal condition, and statistics show that the number of students entering each year is normal or below normal, so that a rapid reduction may be looked for.

Then, in the second place, a startling proportion of the students in Austria are foreign or refugee students. The foreign students study in Vienna because of the renown of its schools, because of the inexpensive life there, and also because, often in their own countries, there are no advanced medical or technical schools. And though they study in Austria these students do

not intend, as a general thing, to practice their profession there.

Regardless of their number it is evident that from among these students must come whatever leadership will be found to bring about the social, political, economic, and spiritual reconstruction in central and eastern Europe. It is in the determination and common understanding born of their disillusionment and suffering that one finds hope that good may yet appear out of this post-war evil. Though their own struggles are the product of dire necessity, to catch something of their spirit is to see a reflection of the spirit of a new Europe.

It is a matter of regret that it has been impossible to include a separate chapter on the youth of France. Certainly, there is no nation in Europe with which Americans wish, more earnestly, to keep faith. Recent developments have only served, I fear, to bewilder the average American in his attitude toward the French people. The paucity of my own material on the youth of France is, in consequence, even the more regrettable.

In a recent issue of The Student World, a publication of the World's Student Christian Federation, devoted to contemporary youth movements, an article by Germaine Swarts, a graduate student of the University of Paris, tells of The Young Republic (La Jeune République), a French youth movement having for its aim the

establishment of Christian principles in all realms of life—private, social, political, national, and international. The excerpts from this article printed here are used by permission.

"The Young Republic is a movement and not an organization; it is a spirit, a certain manner of looking upon life—an attitude which all of us share in common but which is expressed by the individual activities of each of us, save in those activities which demand a welding together of our efforts. The movement is open to everyone. Those who started it, including Marc Sangnier and his friends, were Catholics, and the majority of its members are Catholics up to the present time, but to join with them requires but one thing, namely, to attribute to every human soul a value and a dignity without class distinction, and to act according to that belief. There is no barrier of confessionals, nor discrimination because of class. All who are young are welcome to join with us: workers, students, employees, and professors. All those who understand that which we wish to accomplish may join with us."

"Those who have created the movement are Christian Democrats—democrats because Christian—who have realized what the Christian ought to be doing in the Christian world; that he ought in all of his acts to be Christian, in private life as in his social life and in his political activities."

One of the essential characteristics of this movement, as pointed out in the article quoted, is

that of friendship—in which fact it is closely allied with the German *Jugendbewegung*. The simplicity and freedom and sincerity of relationships existing among all of those who enter the movement are unique. It is characterized by "the disposition to understand each other; to study the place where each one's comrade may make known his aspirations, his sufferings, his joys, and his sins and to establish between them a simple language of fellowship which has for its purpose the establishment of the fact that there are no more relationships of class with class, nor of profession with profession but only of soul with soul."

In this effort, however, the members of the Young Republic do not sacrifice their personality. On the contrary, each one in his own sphere of activity endeavors to realize the will of God for himself, so that it can be the better established on earth. For instance, a nurse, a member of The Young Republic, living in a densely populated district of Paris, opened her rooms to all apprentices of that quarter, the group spending its evenings in study with her. During the summer months she organized children's camps and overnight hikes for older youth. Another member, working at Rheims, organized his friends into a cooperative society, collected money for the rebuilding of the town of Epernay and brought about the reconstruction of sixty houses.

One cooperative undertaking in which all have a hand is the publication of the weekly paper,

The Young Republic, and the bi-monthly review, The Democrat. In a vacant house they have gathered together their equipment, and the members of the organization do all of the work from the setting the type to selling the paper in the streets of the city.

The movement is given rather great significance owing to the fact that its founder, Marc Sangnier, is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, where he stands as a Christian Democrat championing the cause of The Young Republic, whose representative he is. Like his youthful followers, it is in the gospel of Jesus Christ that Marc Sangnier finds the guide for his political activities.

Admittedly, the greatest problem confronting the members of The Young Republic is the international situation. They have set about it to align themselves definitely with other similar organizations in other countries—particularly in Germany—to the end that their influence may be strengthened and something definite accomplished to bring about a more friendly international spirit.

"What can be done to make a real peace?" they ask. "It is useless to wish to have peace by mere material changes; it is useless to wish merely to disarm any nation thought to be dangerous; it is useless to wish to make more certain protection by alliances; it is useless, particularly, to wish to wrestle against hate by more hate. The

things of the spirit, alone, are greater than the power of hate. In order to have peace as a ruling force in the world it is necessary to dispel hate from the hearts of men and it is necessary that they be brought to such an understanding of each other that hate will be impossible. The most difficult task of all is that of transforming the hearts of men, but it is the only task which will give definite result."

To the end of disarming hate, the members of The Young Republic have set about it to bring together, in annual meetings, great groups of youth from various countries where the basis for a real international fellowship may be established. A Congress in Paris for the purpose of forming an International Youth Democracy has been suggested. The annual congress—held by the youth of several countries and at which The Young Republic was represented—was held this last year in Vienna.

In other words, "The Young Republic is a union of young Christians who wish to realize the will of God on earth," and whose motto is: "We are here, our Lord, to do thy will."

It is not alone among those countries most directly affected by the war, however, that this youth-spirit has arisen. Unrest is world wide. The sparks of idealism struck by allied statesmen before and immediately following the armistice kindled a flame which has swept to the remotest corners of the earth. And throughout

the world the youth have served to spread the conflagration. In India profound movements are under way among the students more momentous than purely nationalistic revolt, for they go to the very foundation of the structure of Indian society and are working its entire rebuilding. China's intellectual renaissance, in the sane development of which one finds the greatest hope for the new China, was begun and is dominated by the youth of the nation. The Korean independence movement of 1919 was a young people's movement. The hope one hears expressed for a democracy in Japan is based, almost entirely, upon the new spirit moving among the young Japanese. And, likewise, in the youth of Latin America a widespread revolt against obstructive traditions is opening the way for a new era of progress.

The youth of the world are pointing the way to the new day which statesmen have failed to bring to pass. A larger friendship, a new internationalism is appearing with these assertions of the youth-spirit. Already, to control the potentialities with which it is invested has become the object of preying politicians. But the manifestations of the youth-spirit, as we shall study them in the succeeding chapters, furnish constructive evidence that from the bewildering confusion which seems to have engulfed the world a new world structure may arise, built, perhaps, after the manner of the ideals which youth professes.

CHAPTER II

AS YOUNG ENGLAND THINKETH

As is the case with the youth of many countries, the youth of England—remembering the major part which was theirs in the conduct of the war—are questioning the justice of the insignificant part accorded to them in the settlements of the peace. The suffering which post-war conditions have brought to the young men and women of Continental nations has been much less acute in England, and it has been possible for English youths to view the situation with a greater degree of detachment. And thinking young men—clerks and students and skilled laborers—who have gone back or have tried to go back to their work are looking for a way out. To serve in the ranks was honor enough for most of them from 1914 to 1918 and in the peace, therefore, they are not asking for more recognition than was theirs in the war. But there is an awakening to the fact that, their war job ended, they have been left, so far as the decisive issues are concerned, in the unsatisfactory possession of a sheaf of unfilled promises, to witness a constantly diminishing emphasis upon the things for which they fought.

From some points of view there is little enough evidence that a way out will be found. At the present time there are some million and a half men out of work in England. This unemployment, moreover, is not confined, as unemployment in former times had been almost exclusively confined to unskilled laborers. Skilled laborers too have been hard hit. For instance, seventy-five per cent of the cigar makers in London are out of work. The making of tall hats in England has practically ceased, although one wonders where the abundant supply which is displayed in Hyde Park on a Sunday afternoon is found. Many other trades, small in themselves but a significant number in the aggregate, are similarly nonoperative.

It is true, however, that in spite of this widespread unemployment there is little destitution. A survey made by Toynbee Hall, the famous community center in London's lower East Side, revealed the fact that owing to the government's system of doles to those out of work there was actually very little suffering.

The multitude of ex-service men, however, who earn their living, singly and in good-sized companies, by every means from organ-grinding to modified ballet performances in the streets of London is significant testimony of the seriousness of the situation that still exists. And the continuance of the cost of living at eighty per cent above the prewar level makes the difficulties which

the workingman faces still more serious and inexplicable.

If the young Englishman, surveying his world, finds unemployment and business depression at home, he is met with conditions no less chaotic elsewhere. The problems which England is facing, he finds, exist, usually in aggravated form, in all the countries of Europe. A most superficial reading of the daily papers of London or Manchester or Leeds reveals a situation which is characteristic of no particular country, but, in a general way, is common to them all. And conditions seem to be especially critical in many of those parts of the world under English control.

In the absence of any apparent basis for optimistic predictions one finds widespread disillusionment and, in many quarters, a thriving pessimism. One of England's leading clergymen, when I asked him what the youth of England were thinking, answered: "Nothing. Absolutely nothing." And when I asked further what was most needed in the present situation, he replied: "Men with the power of sustained indignation who will make themselves heard in denunciation of the policies which brought us to this place and which still persist among us."

But pessimism and disillusionment, in the words of an English labor leader, have brought an "individual and collective searching of hearts," and out of this period of depression there are appearing certain hopeful signs. If the expressions

of the spirit of youth are less spectacular, perhaps, in England than elsewhere they are very actual and of genuine significance.

Despite the fact that labor, in England, has been hardest hit by postwar conditions, this "searching of hearts" has served, especially among the young men of the working class, to further some rather remarkable developments, particularly in the field of education. Secondary public-school education in England ends when the pupil has reached the age of fourteen. Children of families without means are thus forced out of school at that age, apprenticeships are difficult to secure, and little choice remains but a blind-alley job, where a lad may reach the end of his advancement at seventeen or eighteen years. At the present time for every place which is open in a secondary school there are several applicants. The present generation of workingmen, therefore, is insisting upon a more extensive system of secondary education.

But, more than that, they are cooperating in a nation-wide movement for adult education among those whose period of education has been cut short. As a result of that cooperation the Workers' Educational Association has been organized. This organization arose spontaneously from among the workmen. It has been described as the "educational side of the labor movement." It is more than that. It is the concrete expression of the interest of the working class in the whole

question of national education. That it has won the confidence of organized labor is shown by the number of trade unions—737 of them—affiliated to it and by the support given to it by such bodies as the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Cooperative Union, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. But regardless of the support given by these organizations, it is affiliated with or pledged to the support of none of them. Nowhere does one find the criticism that the Workers' Educational Association is an agency for propaganda. Various national teachers' organizations, the Adult School movement, the Club and Institute Union, the Young Men's Christian Association, and many other bodies are cooperating in its success, and the Ministry of Education makes an annual appropriation to carry on the work of instruction. The association, therefore, is nonpolitical and nonsectarian, not only in name but in actual practice.

The association is organized on a federal basis. The unit is the branch. This branch can form anywhere, in an industrial center, a town, or an agricultural community. It forms a local council whose function it is to keep alive the interest of the community in the organization. Such branches have been formed in the most remote communities of England. Classes have been organized and work is being carried on with increasing efficiency. For the first time in many

generations nonconformists and members of the established church, in many inland villages, have come together to unite on this common program.

The work carried on through the association is of several kinds. Highest in the scale are the tutorial classes. The tutorial classes are held for three consecutive years and aim at reaching, within the limit of the subjects covered, the standard of university work, in honors. Students govern the classes. They select the subject to be studied, and no tutor is appointed to a class if the students are unwilling. The classes meet twenty-four times in six months, October to April, each meeting sitting two hours, the first hour being given up to a lecture by the tutor and the second to discussing the lecture. In each class a certain amount of written work is required. The courses are entirely under the supervision of university joint committees which have been established in almost every one of the universities of England and Wales.

That the tutorial classes are doing work of a high order is evident from the recent testimony of the minister of education, who declared that their scholarship equals the honor standards of Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, the eagerness with which university tutors accept the opportunity to lead tutorial classes because of the serious interest displayed by the members is very significant. In the winter of 1920–1921 there were 293 of these classes with an enrollment of 6,820,

and in the winter of 1921–1922 there were 320 classes with an enrollment of 7,750, 4,729 of which were men and 2,091 women.

Next in importance to the tutorial classes are the one-year classes which are run along similar lines, but the students pledge themselves to but one year's work. In the one-year classes in 1920-1921, 12,474 students were enrolled, and during 1921–1922 there were more than 500 classes with nearly 20,000 students. The subjects under study varied greatly, but without exception the work is entirely of a nonvocational character. Chief interest centers in the study of economic and social problems, political and social philosophy, general philosophy, literature, music, and biology.

In addition to the above-mentioned classes the association directs a great many study circles. They run for eight or ten weeks, usually taking up the study of a book of a subject in which the students have a common interest. They have no teacher, but, as a general rule, one of the members of the group acts as leader.

From the classes and study groups there has sprung up a summer-school movement. The students, for the most part, are members of tutorial or one-year classes or former members of such classes. The essential feature of the school is the "seminar" or "study group," in which three or four students meet daily to discuss with their tutor their special subject of study. The social side of this phase of the educational movement is

becoming a powerful force in the educational life of the working classes. Excursions to places of interest, "sing-songs," concerts, impromptu debates, and a great variety of entertainments serve to create a new fellowship among them.

The significant fact about the Workers' Educational Association is that the interest in the work of these classes is much broader than a desire for vocational betterment. The courses of study clearly indicate that they will be of little actual help to the average laborer in his daily job. There is little of so-called practical value in such subjects listed in the catalogue for the summer of 1922, as, Modern History, the Victorian Age, Ninteenth Century English Literature and History, Social Psychology, and Economics. The young workingmen of England are revealing a new faith in a liberal education as the road over which they may find a way to a new world-order.

This broader interest in education is reflected in the following comment of a Yorkshire mechanic upon the work of the W. E. A.: "The W. E. A. has shown me the true spirit of education. Now I find that education imparts to me a hope, a joy, a something constantly to strive for, but never attained, in fact, it is life itself. This spirit so gets hold of one that one wants to tell everybody about it, wants everybody to realize the happiness it gives." And from a shop-assistant: "It may be difficult for you to realize how much the W. E. A. summer school means to those

of us who are more or less isolated, and whose lives are circumscribed by the narrow limits imposed by economic circumstances. It was not so much what I gained from any lectures, but a mental and spiritual stimulus. The practical value of even a week's study does not lie in the amount of knowledge gained in that time but in that direction and guidance which enables us to grapple with the problem of ourselves. We are helped to help ourselves."

Not to the laborers only, but to the college men who conduct these classes, are revealed the possibilities of democratic education. The following comment from an Oxford man who taught a tutorial class is significant testimony: "I have learned by experience what a tremendous effort of will and energy must be required by the average W. E. A. student who gets up at six and does monotonous jobs for ten hours or so and then comes in for two hours hard study in class. . . . As a result my belief in the possibilities of an energetic democracy are more than ever confirmed."

In addition to creating an unparalleled interest among the working classes in England in education the association has brought every university and university college in England and Wales into touch with the working people. One hears frequently, among university men, expressions of amazement at the interest and ability of the workers in non-vocational subjects of study. The university monopoly of higher education has been

broken down. And in the journeys of university instructors to the workers throughout England a bond of common understanding is being formed between two formerly widely separated groups which is of great importance for the future.

The development of the Workers' Educational Association and this quickened faith in education is only one illustration of the fact that, in the minds of the young men of all classes, the feeling of disillusionment and discontent which followed the war is giving way to a more constructive spirit.

Take, for instance, the expression of that spirit as one finds it in Oxford. Conservatism, for which the University from ancient times has been renowned, is no longer popular in Oxford. There are many, doubtless, among the descendants of the nobility—the heirs-apparent to the aristocracy of old England—who still keep alive, within the fashionable seclusion of Magdalen or Christ Colleges, the spirit which in another day stamped the Oxford man as a reactionary and Oxford, itself, as the "last hope of a lost cause." The fathers of these men represented in their day all that was most "typical" of Oxford. Their standard fixed, in large measure, the social precedents of contemporary college life. In the Oxford Union their political views were seldom seriously disagreed with, and almost never overridden. But their sons, in feudal consternation, look out—or down—upon the ebbing of conserva-

tism and the rising power of liberal opinion and are impotent to stem the tide.

Many influences have contrived to bring about this change. Of these, no doubt, the war has been the most important. From 1914 to 1918 the universities of England were deserted. And the English know all too well how few of these college men returned. The sentiment which dominated the war period is dying out, at Oxford as in England generally. But the spirit of common sacrifice which brought together men of vastly varying social position during these four years still influences many of them who have assumed again the conventional accouterments of their station in society.

But the influence of the war is evident in another and perhaps a more significant way. Of the many types of men who fought in the allied armies the college man, in all probability, believed most firmly that he was offering himself, not alone to stop the enemy but to clear the ground for the foundation of a new world structure. And when, after four years of fighting, the armistice was signed it appeared, from the soldier's point of view, that the clearing had been fairly well effected. The soldier's part of the job—the negative part—was completed. And the college men of England were rapidly "demobed" and found their way, many of them, back into college fully believing that the remainder of the job—the construction—might safely be left

in the more experienced hands of those who professed, during the war, to know the detailed plans for the building.

Disillusionment, as I have previously pointed out, was not long delayed. Among college men the first feeling in regard to the peace and the chaos which it failed to end was of intense resentment against the leaders who had pointed the way but refused to go the full distance themselves. Resentment, however, no longer represents the attitude of the college man. At Oxford, as indicated in the liberal tendency which I have mentioned, he is earnestly setting about it to work his way out. After four years he has not lost hope in the ideal—now called Utopian—for which he was asked to fight. What revolt there is among the college men against the old order is not the product of a desire to be radical or revolutionary. Such an implication in an English university would be gross libel. This liberalism springs, rather, from a determination that some permanent good shall come out of the war and from the suspicion, not confined to students, that the present leaders and the present methods in world affairs are incapable of bringing such a result to pass.

Then, again, the influx of foreigners has had a very real effect upon the trend of student opinion at Oxford. These men—and women—together with several hundred English territorials from every outpost of the British Empire, have

brought to Oxford protagonists of every shade of every international and racial question before the world to-day. In a discussion of these problems, such as is held regularly in the Oxford Union, it is inconceivable that any phase of the situation, however minute, will be passed over lightly or given insufficient airing.

Three hundred American men and women, representing every State in the Union and scattered through many of the colleges at Oxford, have made a real place for themselves in the life of the university. Most, but by no means all, of these Americans are Rhodes scholars. On every team and in every "going" organization in the university one finds Americans distinguishing themselves. The American Club and the British-American Club are two of the most active organizations in Oxford. The president of the British-American Club is an American and a doctor of philosophy, who is helping, at the present time, to standardize the work for that degree. In addition he is on the track, tennis, and swimming teams, and last year rowed with the college eight. It is even rumored about that American scholarship, in several of the departments, has raised considerably the academic averages.

Americans, likewise, have invaded, or, rather, have been accepted in the best and most exclusive clubs. I breakfasted—"breakfasting" is the popular social meal among the students—with a Rhodes scholar from Nebraska at the Vincents,

a club as blue as the best of English blood can make it. This Nebraskan, by the way, is one of the outstanding athletes in the university. He is on the crew of his college, is active in tennis, and at the last Oxford-Cambridge track meet secured the only first for the university by winning the shotput. In the same meet the representative of Oxford in the mile was a Rhodes scholar from America and the captain of the 'varsity tennis team, likewise, is a Rhodes scholar from the State of Washington.

These illustrations are by no means to be considered as an indication that Oxford is being run by Americans, in somewhat the manner in which America won the war. They are only an indication of the fact that Americans are winning a place for themselves in the university life, and in a limited way are helping to further the liberal movement there.

It is a fact of more than passing interest at Oxford that the president of the Oxford Union Society is an American. The Union Society, founded in 1823, is a debating society and the largest, and by all odds, the most powerful all-university organization at Oxford, a strange enough phenomenon from the point of view of an American college. The president of the Oxford Union Society is the highest honor in the university. Whoever secures it follows in a remarkable succession. During the past one hundred years four presidents of the Union have become

Prime Ministers of England. William E. Gladston, Viscount Bryce, Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, Sir John Sumner, Lord Birkenhead, Hillaire Belloc, and many others served as president during their days at Oxford.

The president is chosen because of his reputation in debate and is presumed to be the ablest speaker in the union. The present president, Ralph Carson, received his first training on the debating teams of the University of Michigan, where he graduated in 1917. He was elected a Rhodes scholar from Michigan in 1919 and came to Oxford, immediately securing recognition in the history of the organization.

The debate which determined Carson's election as president, a debate in which all candidates meet and leave their fate to the decision of the house, was on the question: "That in the present state of affairs the principles of conservatism are of paramount importance to the country." The question was supported by an English Tory, a member of Christ College and heir to the English peerage. The Earl of Middleton, former president of Balliol, former Secretary of State for India, and former Secretary of State for War, made the final address for the conservatives. Carson, needless to say, opposed the question and with such effectiveness that he carried the house by a majority and thereby became president.

Carson told me, however, that he actually won the presidency on a debate held earlier in the

year. The question on that occasion was prohibition. Again Carson stood with progressive opinion; his fellow speaker in favor of prohibition broke down, and it devolved upon Carson to carry the day which is not an easy one to carry for the cause of prohibition in England. At the division, however, to the astonishment of the English themselves, prohibition won 163 to 129.

The vote on these two questions bears significant testimony to the strength of liberal opinion at Oxford. A former president of the Union who presided in the days when Asquith was one of the brilliant members told me that seldom, in his years at Oxford, could a liberal measure carry. "And the liberal measures of these days," he remarked, "are hopelessly conservative at the present time."

Oxford sentiment is almost unanimously in favor of the League of Nations. The hearty support of Oxford men for the league brought about the organization of a League of Nations Society, similar to those which are in existence in many English schools. This body, in last October, organized a league assembly with Professor Gilbert Murray as the directing head. Some thirty-five nations are represented in the membership by student-citizens. The sentiment in favor of the League of Nations is equally strong in the belief that Germany and probably Russia, but Germany, certainly, should be admitted to immediate membership.

It is not alone in the political field, however, that one finds increasing liberal opinion at Oxford. An American Rhodes scholar of fifteen years ago who has now returned to Oxford as a tutor told me that the social life of the university was greatly changed. The extravagances of the period before the war were no longer so apparent, expensive social functions were eliminated or the expenses reduced, and strangest of all, the exclusiveness which characterized certain organizations in former days is giving way to a real democracy.

Nor is it alone in Oxford that one finds this increased liberalism and tolerance among the young men of England. Take as a further instance the evidence of this spirit as one finds it in such an organization as the Central Young Men's Christian Association in London. Of the three thousand five hundred young men who are members of the organization the majority are young London business men: clerks, civil servants, and a few students. Their average age is about twenty-seven years. All of them, with but few exceptions, gave three, four, or five years of their lives in the war. Now in peace, they are eager in support of whatever seems to aid in their search for a way out.

The most going phase of the work of the Central Young Men's Christian Association is that connected with the "Parliament of Nations," which meets weekly during the winter months. It

is in this organization, which has a large membership among eight nationalities, that one comes into intimate touch with the reaction of English young men to the present world situation.

In the first place one finds a definite internationalism. In regard to Germany there is but little resentment and a great amount of sympathy —an attitude generally characteristic of the young men who suffered most in the war, but now are willing to "call it quits" and start again and together. In regard to Russia, too, one finds no resentment—only sympathy—and no fear that England is in imminent danger of being bolshevized by expressing too great concern for the future of the Russian people.

On questions involving racial difficulties there is the same broad-mindedness. A recent invasion of some two hundred Trinidarians, representing a most diverse mixture of the blood of various races, into the hostel of the Association was the occasion for a great reception on the part of the English residents of the building. The executive secretary of the Association asserted that "these young men are ceasing to think in terms of nationality and are beginning to think in terms of world-movements. And they are convinced that the acceptance of the principles of broad-minded internationalism by the leaders in world affairs will mark the beginning of the solution of our major world problems."

This internationalism, as might be expected,

centers about an enthusiastic support of the League of Nations. This support of the League, it must be understood, is not confined to any particular group or the members of any particular organization. It is a conviction held in common by the vast majority of the young men in England. Two years ago—or three—the League was hailed as the organized expression of the ideals for which these young men fought. And if events since then have tempered somewhat their belief in the immediate possibilities of the League, they have in no way shaken their faith in the idea or in its ultimate success. Among the many men with whom I talked a great variety of opinions were expressed in regard to the present ineffectiveness of the League, most of which, by the way, converged toward the conviction, courteously concealed, that American disinterest chiefly was responsible. But there was no serious disagreement in regard to the principle of the League, or any serious doubt but that England and the other nations in it would stand by the present organization.

The whole attitude of the young men in England on international questions is based upon a deep-seated hatred of war, coupled with a readiness to make any necessary sacrifices to insure its future prevention. England and English young men particularly—those who fought, themselves, or whose brothers fell—are sick of war and the talk of it. The Irish question was particularly

acute while I was in London, and always, when the question of Ireland came up for discussion the opinions expressed revealed the belief that England could well afford to go to almost any limit in compromise to avoid the hostilities which were impending. And in seeking to find and support those means which are most likely to point the world to a way out of its present difficulties the thinking young men of England are wholeheartedly back of any move looking toward a cementing of the bonds of friendship between Anglo-Saxon peoples. There is a widespread conviction that until England and America recognize a community of interest in world affairs and are prepared to act accordingly, all schemes for the development of a new internationalism are likely to go amiss.

But whether it is found in enthusiasm for the League of Nations, in a quickened faith in the possibilities of democratic education, or in the development of nonconforming, unconventional liberal opinion, there is much evidence to indicate that the youth of England are turning from disillusionment and pessimism, and without radicalism are working for the construction of a better world-order the foundations of which will be built upon a more intelligent world-understanding.

CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

In a German village they were first pointed out to me—a group of hatless, sunburned youths, their tunics open at the throat, knees bare and feet in sandals, swinging out into the country in the early morning. Led by a battered assortment of guitars they sang as they swung along, marching with the rhythm of an old folk song. In the evening, singing still, they returned, the boys and the girls too, wearing wreaths of wild flowers and the old guitars gay with blossoms.

"*Wandervoegel*" they were called, and "Birds of Passage" they actually are—the postwar revival of a great prewar organization of young Germany. From every city and from countless little villages throughout the land one sees this flight of German youth into the hills and the open country to "nests" in the wood or some deserted castle.

And out of the spirit of these *Wandervoegel* there has sprung the German Youth Movement (*Jugendbewegung*), which during the past three years has swept the youth of the entire nation into a tremendous and constructive revolt, and in which perhaps there is to be found more of hope

for the future of Germany than in any other of the postwar developments in the life of the nation.

It was among the students in a *gymnasium* in Steglitz—a suburb of Berlin—in 1897 that the *Wandervoegel* organization first was formed. The time was one of great prosperity in Germany. The thought and energy of the nation were devoted almost exclusively to its material development. Great manufacturing cities were growing up with tremendous rapidity. There was a widespread movement away from the land to the great centers of population. Industrial enterprises were in the ascendency and the higher arts descendent. The schools, particularly, were dominated by the "Prussian Spirit." The curricula were overcrowded—every afternoon was filled with study periods and there was but little time for sport of any kind. This constant demand for efficiency tended to stifle the freedom and, consequently, the creative instincts of the students. The *Wandervoegel* movement was a spontaneous uprising among the youth themselves against these influences. A sympathetic master in a Steglitz *gymnasium*, sensing the growing unrest among his pupils, granted them unprecedented privileges, and out of the spirit in which this freedom was used the "Birds of Passage" were born.

The groups of *Wandervoegel* which were quickly organized throughout Germany shared a

common love of nature and a common desire to break away from the superimposed restrictions of the school, the church, and the home. Holidays and Sundays were given over to hikes into the country, hikes which quickly incurred the opposition of parental and religious authority, since they threatened the complete breakdown of the regulations designed to control those days. If at first there was little conscious revolt against the conventional sources of authority, in the face of such opposition it quickly developed. Early in the movement tours had been under the leadership of an adult. Soon, however, the sixteen and seventeen-year-old lads most interested in the organization refused the imposed chaperonage of older people, and gradually there developed the definite search for an independent life among the young adapted to their own desire for self-realization which is characteristic of the movement to-day.

The negative phase of the movement—the reaction against what were termed the "unintelligent hamperings of the church, the school, and the home"—is well indicated in *Der Neue Anfang*, a paper edited by Gustav Wyneken, one of the present leaders of the movement: "We feel unfree and hampered in the atmosphere of the family circle, where we were never taken seriously and where the older people never appreciated the need of our body and soul. We will no more stand the buffoons of the desk who compel us to sit

bended over our books, who call us names and insult us, who hammer into us their nonsense in a mechanical and soulless way. We will no more go back and perish in that prison which people call 'school.' "

But the "Birds of Passage" even before the war had much more than a merely negative significance. "To form our own life in sincerity and upon our own responsibility" was the formula upon which all of the various groups united, the very indefiniteness of aim perhaps furnishing one of the best indications of the spontaneity and, therefore, the significance of the movement. A simple, sometimes ludicrous, manner of dress was adopted. With a ragged hat topped by a rocking plume or sometimes a piece of sausage, a strong red kerchief about the neck, stockings full of holes, or frequently barefooted, and carrying a strong oak cudgel, they started on their journeyings. Doubtless, in these early days this spectacle furnished maturer, if unappreciative, individuals with no end of amusement. But soon the organization became too widespread and its purposes too definite to be lightly treated.

Before long girls were included in the movement, and throughout Germany the young people of high-school age set for themselves the task of rediscovering the sources of German national strength, which during this time of materialistic emphasis had been lost. Long excursions among the peasants brought about a great revival of

folk songs and dances, and in countless communities, under the simple leadership of these young apostles of the artistry of life, long forgotten festivals were revived, the old and young met together in great open-air *fêtes* and the "Back-to-Nature" spirit— the "*Retournons à la Nature*" of Rousseau—began to appear in many parts of the country.

The year 1913 marked the Centenary of the battle of Leipsic and the successful conclusion of the Wars of Liberation. Enormous celebrations were held throughout Germany. Especially among the student classes the festivities incident to these celebrations were often riotous affairs ending in rather shameful drinking carousals. Against such exhibitions the whole influence of the *Wandervoegel* was directed, and in October, 1913, a great company of some three thousand of these youths met on the Hill, "Hohe-Meissner," near Kassel, in remonstrance. There was no drinking, no smoking, and the meeting not only marked the celebration of the great military victory of the century before but brought about the organization of the "Free German Youth" (*Freideutschen Jugend*). The spirit of the gathering, expressed in the so-called Meissner Formula, has become the confession of faith of the German Youth Movement of the present time. It reads: "The Free German Youth with full self-determination and driven by their own feeling of responsibility and of inner truth will mold

their own lives. For this inner freedom they will stand together under all conditions. To form mutual understandings they will have Free German Youth Days. All of these gatherings of the Free German Youth are to be free from the use of alcohol and tobacco." Truly something new had been born under the German sun.

Then came the Great War and the wave of patriotism which flooded Germany in August, 1914, swept these young lads into the army and the plans and purposes of the organization were almost forgotten in the chaos of the four years which followed. It is interesting, however, that the marching songs of the German army—many of them none too elegant—were, in large measure, supplanted by folk songs which the *Wandervoegel* previously had used in their own long tramps, and which were quickly caught up by the soldiers.

But it is in a great prewar revival—a revival which has multiplied the power and the number of youth organizations—that one finds the significance of the German Youth Movement.

There is a striking similarity between present-day conditions in Germany and those which existed following the crushing German defeat at the Battle of Jena in 1807. A great regenerative movement of youth led by such crusaders as Arndt and Fichte and inspired by the deeds of Helwig and Von Collomb transformed the catastrophe at Jena into a renaissance which, before the end of the century, was to make German

power supreme in Europe. The legends which have grown up about those days serve now to inspire the leaders of the present youth revival.

Strangely enough it was near Jena, almost within sight of the hill from which Napoleon directed his troops to victory in 1807, that I first came in intimate contact with the Youth Movement. It was the time of the *Sonnwend Feier*, an ancient German Festival of the Sun. By lucky chance I found myself, on the afternoon of the *fête*, packed in a fourth-class car with a great crowd of *Wandervoegel* bound for Dornburg and a celebration on the Hohen Leeden beyond. A splendid crowd I found them—boys and girls of high-school age and many a few years older, simple and unaffected in a *camaraderie* as natural as it was refined. If the clothes they wore were unconventional—the girls in simple peasant dress with hair in braids and frequently without stockings, the boys arrayed in motley costume—they offered no apology, nor for the freedom of companionship between girls and boys. And none was needed, for everywhere among them was a wholesome, joyous spirit and in their eyes a frankness which belied suspicion.

At Dornburg we left the train, the battered guitars appeared, and we started—some three hundred of us—to the summit of the Hohen Leeden. And with the rhythm of the songs they sang we tramped—or rather danced—along with a care-free gayety that was irresistible. The picture

was of the Middle Ages but the spirit that of eternal youth forever in high hope setting forth for some Holy Grail. Our leader, too, in brown jacket, knee breeches, and a smile that flashed back at us as we sang, might easily have been Parsifal.

That night, after many old songs and a great dance about the fire in which everyone joined, we came down again, singing, into the valley. And when, on the train to Berlin, my flight with the Birds of Passage was ended, I had the feeling that for a few hours I had been privileged to walk with the youth of another world, or, perhaps, the youth of this world so completely in possession of the sources of independence and purity and truth that they were set apart as the apostles of a wholly new life for young and old alike. And, likewise, there was an uncomfortable conviction that while these young folk of Germany were laying hold upon a new idealism, the youth of other lands—unfaced by the obstacles which have been placed in the path of the young German—were drifting further from the springs to which, finally, they must return if the moral strength of our civilization is to endure.

Since the war, as I have mentioned, the scope of the *Jugendbewegung* has greatly widened. Some elements, as I will indicate, are had in common by all the various organizations included in it, and in these common elements, I believe, is to be found the real significance of the movement

itself. In general, however, it is possible to distinguish two distinct divisions in the Youth Movement. On the one hand there is the organized section, comprising those national groups which have been formed with a definite political or religious end in view; and, on the other hand, the unorganized, more generally spontaneous groups which have no definite political or religious purpose to serve and which are directed without adult supervision.

In the organized Youth Movement there are to be found The German National Youth Union (*Deutsch-nationalen Jugendbundes*), The Democratic Youth Movement (*Reichsbundes der Deutsch-demokratischen Jugendvereine*), the Socialist Youth Movement (*Arbeiter-jugend*), and the Catholic Movement (*Katholische Jünglings und Jungfrauen-Vereiningungen Deutschlands*). These organizations, in the sense that they owe their origin, partially at least, to adult leadership and are supported, to some extent, by special agencies, are often not considered as belonging to the *Jugendbewegung*. But an examination of the purposes behind them all and the tendencies which are apparent in them reveals rather clearly that they have much, especially of spiritual impulse, in common with the more spontaneous organizations and cannot be excluded from consideration with them.

The German National Youth Union was started shortly after the revolution and, backed

as it was by powerful agencies, soon gained great numbers. The Union is carefully organized on a national basis, with a general headquarters staff and state, county, and municipal Unions, scattered throughout the entire nation. Some fifty thousand young people, most of them *gymnasium* students of high-school age, are included in the membership. It is rather significant that the national committee of this organization consists of many prominent personalities of the old regime—army officers, professors, clergymen, and members of the old nobility—and the leaders in the various semi-independent state organizations are, likewise, men in public life, closely connected with the political parties of the Right.

In spite of strong nationalistic tendencies, however, the German National Youth Union is founded upon what is termed a "German-Christian" basis, and has the end of uplifting its members morally and strengthening them in a love for the fatherland and in those qualities which will fit them to take an active part in the reconstruction of Germany. There is much of Prussian discipline, of respect for authority and dependence upon older leaders among the members of this organization, but in spite of all that a very real desire for the development of those qualities which are finest in the German nation has led to some rather striking examples of sacrificial services which I shall have occasion to mention later on.

The Democratic Youth Movement, which, in like manner to the German National Union, has its organization throughout the whole of Germany, has a membership of twenty thousand. Its periodical, *The Democratic Youth*, is a paper of real literary and political value, although the movement itself aims at nothing other than to be a preparatory school for the German Democratic Party, a purpose which is not without considerable significance. In paragraph two of the constitution we read: "The Union unites all young men and women who stand on the basis of the German Democratic party and has as its aim their education for political work and the direction of the will of the Democratic youth to a policy of strong ideals within the party." The ever-increasing opposition to adult-imposed plans in every branch of the *Jugendbewegung* is making itself felt in a revolt against the party politicians who, up to the present time, have dominated the Democratic movement, and there are many indications that the movement may break away from the restrictions which have been imposed by these special interests and include in its aim a wider field of activity.

The Socialist Youth Movement, in distinction from the Democratic Youth Movement, is not professedly an organization of young party socialists. The purpose of the Socialist Youth Movement is to unite the young people of the proletariat, up to twenty years of age, who do

not belong to any political party. Lately, too, it has been gaining members from the universities and technical schools. The particular aim of this union is the education of youth to the socialistic world-view. It is dominated by a rather overwhelming emphasis upon rationalism in contrast to other organizations in the Youth Movement, and the deepest meaning of rationalism is invariably found in the materialism of Marx and Emils. In spite of repeated declarations against party affiliation a certain connection is maintained with the Social-Democrat party through so-called youth "functionaries" who are chosen from the ranks of the youth and approved by the party.

The working Unions to-day have a membership of over sixty-five thousand, and the group in Berlin alone numbers five thousand. The organ of the Union is the well-edited paper *Working Youth*, the contributions for which, contrary to the policy of similar papers in other organizations, are chiefly from adults. In the *Arbeiterjugend*, even before the revolution, there was a comparatively strong movement against the suppression exercised by the old regime. And to-day, since this movement more than any other is closely connected with the national government, there is a similar and increasing opposition to the restrictions imposed through such association. This tendency was recently revealed in the ousting of the Central Committee of the organization, a com-

mittee composed chiefly of elderly party leaders, and the election of young men in their place.

In members and, perhaps, in ideals the greatest of the organized divisions of the Youth Movement, however, is the Catholic Movement, although the organization itself is more for the youth than by them. The Catholic Movement is hierarchical in its organization. Its head is a general president who has a headquarters staff at his side, the offices for which are located in Düsseldorf. No less than seven papers, with subscriptions totaling over two hundred thousand, are published by this organization. The aim of the movement is the education of youth to the Christian world view as represented by the Catholic Church. The leaders of the individual groups are almost always priests, and the devotion of the youth themselves to their leaders and the ethical idealism which they represent is evidence of the strength of the organization.

Characteristic of this movement is its position in regard to Article One of the new German constitution, wherein the power in the state is recognized as coming from the people. In an article on the subject in *The Rising Generation*, one of the most influential of the Catholic youth periodicals, in August, 1919, we read: "We Catholics can nevermore agree to this article which has been so warmly welcomed by socialistic forces, because it stands in complete opposition to the Catholic conception of the state. We must com-

bat this teaching which would draw the power in the state from the people. This is heresy. It is heresy which will have the worst results. According to this teaching, the people would have the right to change the constitution at any time and to put in new leaders. This un-Christian world-view must necessarily lead to new revolution."

Not all the Catholic youth of Germany are so orthodox. Somewhat in opposition to the above organization is the *Grossdeutsche Jugend*—The Youth of Greater Germany—whose aim is to live according to the ideals of the Catholic Church and to fight every movement hostile to Christianity; and the *Quickbornbewegung*, whose type of living and purposes are much like those of the *Wandervoegel*. This last group, founded first in 1909, stands against alcohol and tobacco, and while its members remain true Catholics they seek to give new life to the church. Among all groups in the Catholic Movement one finds the protest of the new Catholic generation against the too close connection of the older generation with the spirit of the time, a protest which, quite recently, was illustrated in a well-directed opposition against the advertisement of moving pictures of doubtful nature in the papers of the Catholic (Centrum) party.

Among the less-organized, more spontaneous groups, having no definite political or religious affiliations I have already mentioned the *Wander-*

voegel, in the spirit of which the *Jugendbewegung*, itself, originated. In addition there are the Bourgeois Youth Movement (*Freideutschen Jugend*) and the groups connected with it; and the Proletariat Movement (*Freiendezialistischen Jugend*). Many other smaller and loosely affiliated organizations it will not be necessary to mention save in passing.

The Bourgeois Movement, in contradistinction to the Proletariat Movement, which developed out of an economic struggle and had an economic program, arose out of physical, mental, and spiritual impulses. It was a uniting of these impulses which led to the first flights of the *Wandervoegel* in the end of the nineteenth century, and if the *Wandervoegel* originally stood for revolt against the spirit of the time, its present aim, and that of the Bourgeois Movement as a whole, is to find the way to a new personal and social culture—a *Jugendkultur*. The great gathering on the Hohen Meissner in 1913, to which I have already referred, brought together for the first time thirteen of the various independent groups of the Bourgeois Movement. And in 1918 the *Wandervoegel*, with a membership of forty-five thousand, officially united with these groups in the *Freideutschen Jugend*. The war and the revolution which followed it had a far-reaching effect on the Free German Youth. Previously the organization had been repeatedly accused of political activity, especially by Bavarian parliamentary

clericals, but always the members stood definitely against any political alignment or activity.

In the revolution, however, it was felt that the time had come for the *Freideutschen Jugend* to enter actively into the political struggle—since on every hand sinister forces appeared to be at work and the ideal of the state in which the Free German Youth believed was not evident in the reality which they saw developing. Consequently many free Germans took an active part in the revolution on the side of the proletariat, others formed *Wandervoegel* bands, each with one hundred members, to fight the Sparticist Movement, and out of the hatred of the struggle there grew up in the movement divisions representing the most violently opposing tendencies. But, in spite of the intense bitterness which arose, the leaders called for a general meeting of all factions in Jena in 1919, and there nationalists and socialists and communists—sworn enemies of all political parties—were united. And in the discussion, passionate and bitter though it was, there was revealed a strong human tie and a community of purpose which made possible a new renunciation of party-political purposes and a new union in the moral fight for a better society.

The Free German Youth Movement presents a number of small, firmly organized Unions which are, in part, united in a larger organization all held together by a community of purpose. The *Wandervoegel* still furnish the main stock of the

organization, but in increasing number the scope is widening to include all like-minded youth, regardless of their affiliation with any particular group. The great aim of the Free German Movement is to give to the youth of Germany, in school and university life, the opportunity to determine their own program with complete self-determination. Widespread reform of school regulations has been proposed, an instance of which is found in a resolution adopted a short time ago by a gathering of Free Germans in Darmstadt that the youth of the working classes be admitted to vocational schools without formal matriculation. On the cultural side one finds the Free Germans in all parts of Germany working to give to their nation the treasures which they have found in nature and in their association with each other.

The *Freiensozialistischen Jugend*—the Proletariat Youth Movement—arose, as did the *Wandervoegel*, out of the spontaneous demand of the youth themselves. In spite of strong radical tendencies there is among them a great longing for spiritual liberty and a definite determination to find a freer and more worthy form of morality for all youth. The Free Socialist Youth Movement presents to-day a somewhat disordered picture of many varying tendencies. In their refusal to unite with the Bourgeois movement, however, all groups of the proletariat are united. But it is interesting to note that at the present time, while the political interests of the Free

Socialist Youth are tending to disappear, the great spiritual forces which all along have been evident in the *Jugendbewegung* are coming more into the ascendency.

Economically the *Freiensozialistischen Jugend* are pledged to the support of certain definite demands among which are: the introduction of a six-hour maximum working day for all young people under eighteen years of age, the training of youth in state schools for apprenticeship, the prohibition of night and Sunday work for children, four weeks holiday in the year with full pay for working youth, prohibition of child labor under sixteen years of age, extension of the school period to sixteen years, free education and pay during school hours for working children, representation and self-determination of the youth in the organization, especially of vocational schools, and the right of youth to be represented on the National Workmen's Councils. Politically, they demand the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of military service and the dissolution of volunteer regiments, and for the accomplishment of these ends they are working on international lines in union with the organization of international socialistic youth.

There is a communist section of the Socialist organization whose paper, *The Young Guard*, has a circulation of fifteen thousand. The syndicalist group, which has formed the Federation of Revolution Youth of the German Tongue, publishes

Free Youth, a paper with five thousand subscribers. Both papers have but recently begun publication. Akin to the syndicalist movement in their program but much more religious in their ideals is the "Super-National Proletariat Youth Union." They acknowledge no economic, political, or cultural frontiers. Their organ, *The Flame*, edited by three young proletarians in Breslau, declares, in its first issue, after energetically denying connection with the whole materialistic, capitalistic, militaristic social, and economic order: "We only fight for the highest aims and ideals, and we cannot support the existing world-order which is filled with the spirit of capitalism. We do not believe in placing first emphasis upon that which is of this earth and must pass away, but, rather, upon that which is divine and eternal. We fight to build a new world and a new humanity, and to the youth of our time we hope to reveal that our day is a day for awakening and for turning to the right."

To find the real significance of the *Jugendbewegung* among these multiplied strands which have covered Germany with a network of youth movements one must trace out whatever elements are had in common by them all. Beginning with the *Wandervoegel* in the end of the last century and reappearing in the present youth renaissance, a spirit of revolt against the conventional restrictions of the home, the church, and the school is evident in all of the organization, regardless of

their differences in method and avowed ideals. Whether in the violent reactions of those groups which, politically, belong to the Left, or in the less passionate but none the less determined declarations of the organizations of the Right, one constantly meets with this spirit of revolt. Save among the extreme nationalists, from Left to Right nothing is so roundly hated as the superimposition of conventional authority, and nothing so loved as nature or so much sought after as its sympathetic understanding.

New educational tendencies in Germany since the war, which seek to give to the student some degree of self-determination in the direction of school life and make the student less the object and more the subject of education, may be traced, in large measure, to this determined opposition of the youth of the land to the stilted, disciplinary methods of conventional instruction. And the groups of students during school hours which one sees in the parks of Berlin and in the hills or along the country roads is evidence of the transformation which is taking place.

But at its very foundation the *Jugendbewegung* is a religious movement. This impulse goes deeper and is more characteristic than the revolt against authority or the desire for freedom or devotion to the task of rebuilding the nation. The things of the spirit, indefinite and incompletely expressed, are the things most sought for. There is much of vagueness and little organized evidence

of the spiritual ideals to which the youth are pledged. But, somehow, in this very indefiniteness one finds the most complete assurance of the sincerity and earnestness and permanent worth of the movement.

Though the *Jugendbewegung* is distinctly religious in all of its various phases, in circles to whom are intrusted the maintenance of organized orthodoxy one finds considerable alarm and a very great deal of bewilderment at the apparently inexplicable reaction of German youth against conventional Christianity. In their love of nature these young folk sought new forms of worship and some churchmen, wise beyond their contemporaries, understood this search and encouraged them in it. In more than one church *Wandervoegel* have conducted their service, have sung their own songs, and read from the Bible, or perhaps from Fichte or Goethe or Schiller, and one of their own number has given to the adult congregation a simple explanation of their own unhampered faith.

Save in the groups of the extreme Left, the youth in the *Jugendbewegung* are one in their love of Germany and in their passionate desire to purge the nation from the dross which has brought it to its present condition, and create a new and united nation worthy to stand, with self-respect, before the world. One finds many expressions of this spirit such as the one that follows: "We have become poor—we Germans—of

all that we prized and sought for. We hail thee blessed poverty, if thou wilt help us to love, with all our hearts, all that which we Germans should love, and if thou wilt help us to find the way to our inmost souls again; if thou wilt help us to have the message of the German word and the work of God born afresh out of a new spirit."

If one should seek for practical expressions of this German youth-spirit, it could be found in many things: in a determined opposition to impure literature, dances, and moving pictures; in great fires in the squares of many German towns where obscene books were destroyed; in motion-picture houses boycotted; in films suppressed because of youth agitation; in the utilization of playgrounds and parks for the teaching of folk dancing in substitution for the less desirable modern dances; in organized play and in classes in personal hygiene.

Among the laboring classes in the nation's great industrial centers these youth—many of them members of the old aristocracy—have gone out among the workmen, have lived with them and talked with them and led them in the singing of the old folk songs until a new national consciousness began to grow among them—a national consciousness which, for the first time, is shared in common and in equality by the members of all classes.

Evidences of returning life—of whatever sort—are regarded in Germany these days as indica-

tions that the nation is longing for another war to win again a place in the sun, and the Youth Movement has not escaped that suspicion. But the movement itself is too spontaneous and, for the most part, altogether too free from the direction of the forces which would be most interested in such a development to give adequate basis for the alarm which frequently is expressed. German school children, from time immemorial, have carried their books strapped to their backs in neat knapsacks, and such accusations bring to mind the suspicion of a foreigner recently traveling through the country who thought, when he first saw them, that he had found the first move toward the reconstruction of Germany's military machine.

A young student who himself is actively interested in the Youth Movement told me of their religious services which are characteristic of the *Jugendbewegung*. Always the service is in the woods, usually in the early morning.

"We do not say many words or pray long prayers," he said. "In the beginning our leader for the day—one of our own number—leads us in a song, perhaps religious or, more likely, an old folk song. Then he reads to us, it may be from the Bible, and if so, probably from the New Testament and the words of Christ; or from Eckhardt or Schleiermacher or Fichte. Then there is more singing and a special song by some of us. If our leader speaks at all, it is usually of broth-

erly love or purity or unselfishness. And then with a concluding prayer, in which all of us join, our service ends."

If, according to the definitions of technical theology, their faith is pantheistic, it is a faith in spiritual values rather than material; and the God they worship, though he is sought more in the revelations of nature than in the church, is a personal God.

In every phase of the movement there is the spiritual joy which is revealed in this notice, posted by *Wandervoegel* in a small village where they proposed to follow a great carnival with a festival of folk songs and dances:

"To all who are really alive! All youth must combine to fight against everything that is rotten and corrupt in our society. For eight days during the fair you have allowed them to show you indecent dances and other flimsy things of the old '*Kultur*'; you have swallowed dirt, have permitted them to deafen your ears and senses with hurdy-gurdies, nonsense and soulless merchandise, with everything except real joy, real fellowship and real folk life. Our people must perish unless the young and those who have remained young arise and work with each other for the preservation of the best in all of us. In the days that we are with you we want to live with you and fight with you against amusements of all kinds that, for the sake of profit, exploit youth in body and soul. Come to our meetings as simple men and

women; leave at home all powder and paint and stupid fashions. Let joy of heart be your ornament.

"We pray you all to believe that youth has the special task of helping us, that these days, with youth, will bring a renewal of our health in body and spirit."

In an appeal to the youth of the proletariat we read: "A shining figure stands for us out of the darkness, eternally young. It is the light of the world, the Saviour whose very name awakens fear in the heart of this rotting world, but whom we greet with youthful eagerness. His name is Christ! And the world-conquering Christ-spirit challenges us to ascend from this valley of bewilderment to the watch-tower of everlasting truth, where we shall be able, on the strong wings of the eagle, to overcome all empty traditions which hinder us in sound physical and spiritual development."

One cannot meet these young folk and catch something of their spirit and fail to feel that young Germany, in this time of great stress and confusion, has gone apart, for a time, into the mountains, where they are being given to see a new heaven and a new earth; and that, with their spirit, the old heaven and the old earth—of suspicion and selfishness and hate—will pass away.

In this understanding the declaration of one of the youthful leaders of the movement has a note of prophecy: "All of us that are met to-

gether on this mountain top, when we return to the world which lies groaning in pain and fear beyond the dark woods, we will not leave the world as we find it. We want to help humanity forward, we wish to become the messengers of salvation and the bearers of light. Courageously and unremittingly we will fight against the powers of darkness. Let us all give of ourselves in taking to longing humanity the message of God become man. Let us bring salvation to mankind and the gospel of the life beautiful which is life and light and love. And in confidence let us start the new song, above all the tears and misery and fire and smoke of this chaotic time, and let the sound of singing be carried afar from out our inmost souls —the song of the life beautiful."

CHAPTER IV

GERMAN STUDENTS MASTERING THEIR OWN FATE

To describe something of the *Jugendbewegung*, as I have done in the preceding chapter, does not give full account of postwar movements among the youth of Germany. The *Jugendbewegung* is working, chiefly, among the youth of high-school age. Its fuller fruitage will be seen in a few years when these lads have gone on to institutions of higher learning or out into active life. At the present time, however, there are a number of very definite developments of no less significance among university and technical school students.

In order to understand these developments it is necessary to recall the conditions which faced the German university student upon his return from the war. Where formerly his life was of well-ordered stability, even of luxury, he now found himself confronted with destitution. The assurance of position formerly guaranteed by the unfailing efficiency of German imperial organization was displaced by the utmost uncertainty in regard, not only to future position but to the very immediate considerations of bread and clothes and a place to sleep. The social structure in

which, perhaps, his was the most permanent place was completely shattered.

Because of this and because of the lack of permanent security under the republican regime one finds in university circles an intense devotion to the ideals of the monarchy, and prewar Germany, with its prosperity and stability, is fast becoming the golden age, the ideals of which furnish retrospective inspiration for building the foundations of the future. German universities are the centers of the most nationalistic spirit to be found anywhere in the country. Among professors and students one searches long to find any significant sentiment in favor of the republican government or of republican policies. The small minority in both groups which stands opposed to the nationalistic aspirations of the monarchists is obliged to submit to constant chicanery, and I have been told that among professors in the public schools promotions for men with such beliefs are almost impossible to secure.

It is true also that there has been a very widespread ignorance among German professors on international questions. This fact was recognized and frequently commented upon long before the war, and it has not altered since. Once the German philosophy of international relationships was understood and accepted, it became a comparatively simple matter, without long study of the merits of any particular case, to adjust world problems to it. A long study in any particular

case, in fact, always involved the possibility of leading to conclusions not in harmony with this philosophy, and consequently such a course was undesirable.

A German professor—well known in the educational circles of the nation—gave me an exposition of this philosophy and some rather striking examples of its application. According to this man, Germany has never maintained that might makes right—only that might is a means to gaining a right end. Might serves merely to usher in that which is right. The right—in national and international affairs—is power. Germany, in 1914 and at the present time, believed that power is the determining factor and that the actions of all nations can be judged only on the basis of their efforts to secure it. Thus when England talks of peace and idealism she talks solely because these things, at the present moment, serve best to aid her in acquiring more power. Individuals, according to this professor, may act from unselfish motives, but nations, in the very nature of the case, can never do so. And, in the last analysis, the final test of power is war. It is not that Germany likes war or seeks for war, but, knowing that power is at the very basis of national existence and that so far in the world the final test of power is war, the German people feel impelled to be prepared to win when the test comes.

Another professor—the secretary of one of

Germany's most popular universities, expressed the conviction that America and Japan would certainly have war in the near future. When I objected he replied: "But why not? You will win it." And when I endeavored to outline some of the results of the Washington Conference in so far as they made that possibility less likely, he replied with the most ingenious account of how England and America, seeking to maintain their supremacy in the Pacific, had called the Washington Conference and there, under the cloak of high-sounding phrases and propositions for disarmament, proceeded to carry out their plans against Japan and thereby establish their power more firmly. That the pronouncement of Secretary of State Hughes and the proceedings of the conference could have come from any other motive never occurred to him.

I was told of a gathering of students last year in Switzerland, where representatives of most of the nations engaged in the recent war were gathered to discuss means for more friendly international cooperation. After rather lengthy discussion in which delegates of all the nations—save Germany—confessed a share in the guilt for the war, a French student arose and asked of the Germans whether or not they admitted that Germany too must bear some of the blame. The Germans replied that never would they make such an admission.

Dining with a group of students—theological

students they were—I put a similar question and received a like answer. These students, in fact, went so far as to say that nothing could mitigate the hatred between France and Germany until one of the two nations had been completely destroyed. And when I asked them the relation of religion to these international problems they replied that the outworkings of Christianity are not seen in the relationships between men and nations, but, rather, in the individual, spiritual relationship of each man to his God. War, therefore, whatever hate it might engender, is a thing apart from religion, providing, of course, that the individual refused to allow this spiritual relationship to lapse.

It is a further fact, in this connection, that many of the university students of Germany are ex-officers of the German army whose studies were interrupted by the war and who have returned to exert a powerful influence upon the younger students to keep the nationalistic spirit alive in the institutions of higher learning. In 1920 the enrollment of officers at certain of the leading universities was as follows: (From *La Revue Politique et Parlementaire,* March 10, 1922):

Berlin	14,500 students	3,780	former officers
Munich	12,000 students	2,900	former officers
Frankfort	6,000 students	1,350	former officers
Göttingen	4,000 students	1,000	former officers
Marburg	3,000 students	1,100	former officers
Wurzburg	2,560 students	640	former officers

Illustrative of the powerful nationalistic group among the students is the organization known as the *Hochschulring* (*Hochschulring Deutscher Art*). Its principal objects are to organize the students along military lines, accustom them to strict discipline, and to propagate patriotism. Backed by the nationalist party, its patron saints are men like General Ludendorff and other heroes of the old regime. The *Hochschulring* has extended among the students in every part of the country, which for organizing purposes is divided into seven districts, corresponding to the National Defense districts. The work of the organization is directed by the German Officers' League.

Most significant of the postwar student developments in the universities of Germany, however, is the formation of the German *Studentenschaft*, which is serving not only to transform German student ideals, but is working a revolution in the actual government of German universities. The history and present activities of the *Studentenschaft* were explained to me by Herr Walter Zimmermann, head of the organization's foreign office (*Auslandsamt der Deutschen Studentenschaft*) located in Göttingen. Whatever reactionary sentiments one finds prevalent among the students generally were certainly not shared by Herr Zimmermann. Although he is from a family of the old aristocracy, a member of the nationalist *Folkspartei* and the inheritor of the political traditions of the Right, his own beliefs

are quite the opposite of the reactionary conservatism which one might expect. The new constitution of the *Studentenschaft*, adopted only a short time before admitting to membership German Jews as well as German Aryans, was sponsored by Herr Zimmermann in the convention, and because of his stand against race prejudice since then he has been constantly the object of most violent attacks from nationalistic student groups.

The German *Studentenschaft*, like so many other student developments in postwar Europe, grew out of conditions created by the war. For four years young intellectuals and young proletarians, thrown together to share the common lot of the trenches, learned much of the spirit of democracy. As early as 1916 many of them were talking revolution. In 1918, when the revolution actually came, student clubs had already been organized and these voiced a persistent demand after the armistice for the establishment of a national, self-governing and self-supporting student democracy. The Ministry of Education, therefore, submitted a bill in 1919 proposing the creation of the *Studentenschaft* which finally was passed by the Reichstag.

According to the provisions of this act all German students, upon the payment of their matriculation fees in any university or technical school in the country, automatically become members of the organization. From top to bottom the *Studentenschaft* is controlled by the students them-

selves and supported by a student tax. National officers are elected at an annual convention of students, and the organization has its local offices in all of the university and technical schools of Germany. Attempts have been made and are continually being repeated to bribe those in whose hands the direction of the organization has been placed. Representatives of the nationalist groups of the extreme Right have proposed subsidies of various sorts, the acceptance of which would mean the virtual selling out of the principles upon which the *Studentenschaft* is built and the acceptance, in exchange, of the remunerative dictatorship of politicians. Up to the present time the student leaders have withstood these offers and, in consequence, the difficulties they have been called upon to meet in creating a successful organization have been multiplied. It is significant, in this connection, that these young men, unable to secure the frank cooperation of many leading Germans, have turned to representatives of the Y. M. C. A. and the European Student Relief Committee in Germany for direction.

The general purpose of the *Studentenschaft* is to create a working student democracy. The principle upon which this student democracy is built is the cooperative representation and participation by all of the students in all student activities. By this is meant much more than the various student activities of each particular

school. It includes, in the first place, the whole question of student relationships among themselves; and, in the second place, the question of student relationship with those outside student life, not only with the authorities of the universities but with the state and national governments.

To accomplish the general purpose for which it was organized the *Studentenschaft* has undertaken four distinct tasks of cooperation. The first of these is the very essential work of securing economic assistance for the students. This has led to the formation of the Student Help Department (*Studentenhilfe*), the activities of which I will consider in detail a little later. The second is that of creating a greater social and spiritual cooperation among the students themselves. The third task is the cooperation of students with university authorities in school government and in the arrangement of curricula. In the fourth place the organization has undertaken the interesting work of the cultivation of international student relationships.

In the work of creating greater social and spiritual cooperation among the students the *Studentenschaft* has been obliged to meet many deep-seated and long-standing prejudices. Early in the nineteenth century—1813—the first national student corps (somewhat similar to American university fraternities) were formed. For over a century they have grown in power and in-

fluence, until they have come to represent the student aristocracy—nationalistic, reactionary and dominated, often, by none too commendable ideals. But during this time they represented the only organized student opinion, and in Germany more than in many countries student opinion has a very real voice in national affairs. The *Studentenschaft*, however, presumes to speak for a genuine democracy, since all German students, some one hundred and twenty thousand of them, are included in its membership, and many of the cherished prerogatives of the corps have been taken over by this new organization. In consequence, there has been much opposition to its development.

It is significant, however, that after two years the *Studentenschaft* is rapidly winning the support of the corps. Herr Zimmermann and many others of the leaders are themselves corps men. Through the broadening contacts of the war, and the disillusionment and suffering which have followed it, they have come to realize the necessity of an organization which presumes to represent the common ideals of all students, regardless of their social standing or their political connections. The very fact that German Jews could be included in a national organization of German students—in the face of great opposition—is striking evidence of this realization.

Officials in the ministry of education in Berlin have worked with the *Studentenschaft* in its ap-

proach to the problem of university student self-government. As I have mentioned in considering the *Jugendbewegung*, there is an increasing determination among the students of Germany that they be made the subject rather than the object of education. Through the local organizations of the *Studentenschaft* student committees have been appointed to work with the faculty in arranging the curricula. Joint committees of student and faculty members are appointed to determine the nature and conduct of university examinations; students sit on the boards which determine the distribution of student-scholarships, and they are, likewise, called upon to represent student opinion in regard to many questions of university administration. And if the students on these committees act chiefly in an advisory capacity, their very presence indicates the working of a new spirit in the university life of Germany. By working through Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s, Cosmopolitan Clubs, and through channels of their own this department keeps in constant touch with all German students studying outside of Germany. It has particularly strong established connections in England, Holland, Scandinavia, and the United States.

In addition to this work for German students abroad the *Studentenschaft* carries on a very definite program of international student cooperation. The international Federation of Stu-

dents, organized in Strasbourg shortly after the war, and to which the student organizations of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria were not invited, inserted a clause in the constitution that German students would be admitted to membership in the federation when Germany became a member of the League of Nations. At a later meeting in Prague, under the leadership of neutral countries, this clause was stricken out over the protest of the French students, who are reported to have made a secret agreement by which Germany will never be able to secure enough votes for election.

But in spite of this opposition the *Studentenschaft* has continued with its own program. On the invitation of the Germans, sixty students, representing eighteen nationalities, gathered in Leipsic during last April (1922) to discuss their common problems. French, German, and English were made the official languages, and for three days these delegates sat about the same conference table, working out plans for more intimate international student cooperation. During this meeting a definite program of Russian student relief was inaugurated and plans prepared for the interchange of students between the countries represented. Most significant of its achievements, however, was the fact that this conference demonstrated the understanding which exists between students, regardless of their race or nationality and the feasibility of bringing

them together upon a common, cooperative program.

The daily work in the foreign office of the *Studentenschaft* is of a varied nature. While I was in Göttingen a party of fifty American students, under conduct of the Y. M. C. A., were touring Europe and were expected to enter Germany within a few days. Their program was entirely in the hands of the *Studentenschaft*. Representatives of the *Studentenschaft* had been sent to the German border to meet the visitors, local organizations in each of the cities on their schedule had previously submitted plans of entertainment for the approval or the revision of the national office, and from the time of their arrival in Germany until their departure into Czecho-Slovakia they were conducted from one student group to another in keeping with a prearranged program as minutely planned as it was smoothly carried out. Later in the summer a group of English students was expected and for them, in like manner, the machinery of the *Studentenschaft* was at work.

Also under the work of the foreign office is the arrangement of student exchanges between Germany and other European countries. It is the plan of the *Studentenschaft* that every German, going abroad to study, will make it possible for a student in the country to which he goes to be given the opportunity to come to Germany. When arrangements can be made the student who comes

into Germany in such an exchange is asked to live in the home of the student who has gone abroad. The greatest difficulty in the way of the success of this plan is economic, and it has been possible, in overcoming this, to secure special rates from railroads and some concessions from the universities. Two carloads of one hundred German students, for example, were transported, recently, to Hungary and the same cars were loaded with one hundred Hungarian students and brought back to Germany. In this way thirty students are studying in Finland, and the same number of Finnish students in Germany. During two years of its preliminary organization this work is scarcely under way. When the economic barriers—which make it almost impossible for a German to study in countries with a high rate of exchange—are overcome the possibilities of this plan for the growth of common understanding among the students, especially of northern and eastern Europe, can scarcely be overestimated.

The most interesting and certainly the most vital work of the *Studentenschaft*, however, is that of the Economic or Student Help (*Studentenhilfe*) Department. The officers of the *Studentenhilfe* are located in Dresden, where its organization has been under the partial direction of European Student Relief Fund representatives and its work materially assisted by their financial support.

The life of the German university student be-

fore the war was a life of freedom *de luxe*. He was subsidized, hedged about with every protection, and accepted in the highest circles as one of the socially élite. His future was assured. But the war and the chaos which followed it swept away completely the foundations of German student life, and the German student was forced to choose between the adoption of a hard labor program for his own salvation or the discontinuance of his studies. And if, in choosing the former alternative, he has sacrificed some of the prestige which once commended him to certain strata of German society, he has gained an independent self-reliance and has passed forever beyond the influence of those whose control, in former days, he was obliged to accept as the price of financial and social certainty.

In Germany during the summer semester 1921 there were enrolled in the various institutions of higher learning about 110,000 German students and 6,000 foreign students. The average minimum cost of only board, lodging, and university fees amounted to about 425 marks a month. But of the German students more than 30,000 had a monthly income of less than 350 marks, while of the foreign students nearly 1,000 were in an even worse condition.

It is in the *Studentenhilfe* that the German students, in the face of complete destitution, pooled their miseries and their grim determination to continue their studies and set about it, coopera-

tively, to work out their own salvation. As it exists to-day, therefore, the *Studentenhilfe* is based upon the will of the individual student to help himself. As a prerequisite to sharing in the benefits of this organization the student who had no money—and most of them had none—is required to gain some. To this end the offices of the organization in every university and technical school in Germany are clearing houses for vacation and school-time jobs. Every summer the students find employment in the factories and the mines and on the railroads, and during the winter at odd jobs of every sort from tutoring to roof repairing and week-end firing on the railroads.

In the first year following the revolution many students were able to support themselves by so-called "soft jobs," by providing popular entertainments, by supplying music in moving-picture theaters, etc. But such work has been frowned upon until it has been abandoned entirely in favor of manual labor. Thus a new student ideal—the ideal of the work student (*Der Werk Student*)—has arisen. In July, 1921, the convention of the *Studentenschaft* in session at Erlangen passed a resolution proposing that every German student should learn a trade and, if possible, practice it during at least one year of his academic course. This, it must be understood, is not dictated by purely economic motives, but by a desire to bring the students and the laboring classes into more

intimate contact. And where, in prewar Germany, self-help of this sort would have meant degradation, to-day it is a mark of self-respect.

The student who has thus by his own efforts proved his fitness, is permitted to join and share in the benefits of the *Studentenhilfe*. And these benefits are many. To make the life of the student as inexpensive as possible has been one of the first aims of the organization. Each student, upon the payment of fifty or one hundred marks, becomes a member of a corporation of students which buys books, school supplies, and clothes in quantities and sells them from twenty to thirty per cent below the retail price. I have been in their stores and have seen the students flock to them to purchase every conceivable thing from shoestrings to washboards, and occasionally the luxury of a bar of chocolate. The buying and selling are done entirely by volunteer students.

In most schools the work of the *Studentenhilfe* is divided into six departments: first, the food department, including kitchen and student mensa; second, the retail store, which furnishes articles of general merchandise; third, the food store; fourth, stationery store; fifth, the clothing store; sixth, the student laundry and repair room fitted up with the tools which enable students to do their own shoe-repairing. The operation of the student mensas which I have described elsewhere is probably the most remarkable of the work carried on by the students. The number of men who

are obliged to rely upon this cooperative kitchen for their meals varies with the size of the various schools. About five hundred men ate each day in the mensa in Dresden which I have described. In Munich the University of the Studentenhilfe operates three great kitchens and dining halls which daily feed approximately three thousand students.

If the individual student, because of additional school work incident to examinations, or the preparation of graduate theses, or because of physical incapacity, is unable to work, the *Studentenhilfe* secures funds through a student loan bank. The central bank for the *Studentenschaft* is located in Dresden and its capital is furnished by German financiers and by the government. The members of the *Studentenschaft* contribute voluntarily from ten to twenty marks each year in order to cover any shrinkage in the capital. Loans through this bank are made for periods of eight or ten years, and for the first five years only one per cent interest in charged—and after that period, four or five per cent. The control of the loan bank is in the hands of a board of directors composed of six students, three representatives of the national teachers organization, four government representatives, and nine business men. Among the last group are several leading German industrialists and financiers.

The organization of the German *Studentenschaft*, as I have intimated, is the result of a

spontaneous demand of the students themselves arising out of their own dire need. But it is much more than that. With the aid of the European Student Relief Fund it is making it possible for German students to meet their very immediate material needs to secure bread and clothes and a place to sleep. But it is doing much more than that.

The chairman of the self-help department of the *Studentenschaft* recently declared: "The urgency of economic interdependence forges iron bands around the peoples of the world and in defiance of all differences compels to cooperative service." The president of the *Studentenschaft* has said in regard to the work of the organization: "We German students desire to stand together in true comradeship in order that we may, through our own efforts, work our way out of these present difficulties to a new era. In cooperation with like-minded students of other countries, we hope to help our own country and at the same time do our share toward the recovery of the world."

The principles of democracy, upon which the *Studentenschaft* is built, are finding a significant place in the thinking of German students and the spirit of cooperative self-help in which its affairs are conducted is the spirit which is needed, more than any other thing, to bring about an ordered stability in European affairs. Whatever nationalistic sympathies and prewar ideals persist

among the university and technical school students of Germany, the gulf remaining to be bridged between the ground on which they stand to-day and an entirely new ideal of international cooperation is no wider than that which they have already spanned between the position of the student in prewar Germany and his present place as a member of the *Studentenschaft*.

CHAPTER V

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: EUROPE'S YOUTH HAVEN

From the ruins of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire a number of small states have arisen. From an industrial point of view these nations compose an economic unit. In like manner, because their development is threatened by common perils and must proceed along similar lines, they constitute something of a political unit. And in one form or another they all are faced with the same racial problems.

But there is little evidence of this unity revealed to one who travels through this territory. The myriad visés which a passport must contain; the great frequency with which one is routed out at all hours of the day or night to pass in line before the belligerent customs officers of one country or another, each new lot of officials different from the last, in different uniforms, demanding in a different tongue that one pay a different duty in a different currency at a different rate of exchange—these are the unhappy experiences of the casual traveler.

But the evidence of disunity is scarcely less plain to one who observes more closely. Fac-

VARIOUS TYPES OF STUDENT SELF-HELP — LEARNING THE ART OF SHOE-REPAIRING

tories in one state are obliged to shut down because the raw materials for their operation are included in the boundaries of another state and insurmountable economic barriers erected between them. Agricultural products are exported to the ends of the earth and neighbor nations forced to go to the ends of the earth to buy. Interstate politics, at the expense of well-ordered development, are too frequently dominated by national suspicions, and race prejudices are continually aroused by turbulent racial minorities. Intolerance and hatred, bred through centuries of oppression and given expression in the war, constitute the unhappy political heritage of the peoples of eastern Europe.

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It is chiefly among the youth, in fact, that one finds recognition of the community of interests which should unite these nations. One cannot deny that nationalism and race prejudices thrive among the youth with a vigor which can scarcely be matched by their elders. And many of the youth themselves, doubtless, would deny the possibility and doubt the desirability of the unifying of the peoples of eastern Europe—even while their own cooperative spirit worked to bring it about. But the common disillusionment and suffering in which they are called upon to share and the common difficulties which they face are working more powerfully to draw them together than the divisive factors which work for their continued disunion.

Consider, for example, the conference held during last Easter in the little Czecho-Slovakian town of Turnov, on the edge of the Bohemian forest. The Turnov conference was demanded by students who, for two years, had been working together in different nations in the common cause of student relief, and wanted to see each other face to face. The eighty-three students of thirty nationalities meeting there comprised an explosive mixture of political, religious, and racial antagonisms which would have destroyed a gathering dominated by lesser ideals. Every economic, political, and racial complication of Europe was represented.

The mechanics of the meeting were in the hands of representatives of the European Student Relief Committee—but the students themselves brought about its success. The chairmen of the national student bodies in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hungary, respectively, were there, as was also the chairman of the whole body of Russian emigrant students. Students were chairmen of the commissions, presented the reports, and did the speaking. When the delegates at Turnov spoke they were voicing the new spirit—of unity and cooperation—which is coming among the youth of the world.

As a study in miracles of internationalism it is only necessary to recall the whirlpool of hates and prejudices in which these students met and then consider the fellowship of this assembly. It

was rather a doubtful crowd which traveled from Prague in the same train and was dumped, en masse, on the Turnov station platform. The men were promptly housed, by twenties and thirties, in incongruous racial mixtures, in the Sokol House, and the girls were entertained in the town. The whole group was divided into two opposing camps—the Greens and the Blues—and for a week, forgetting nationalism and race prejudice, Czechs, Germans, and Poles; Austrians, Servians, Italians, French, Belgians, and Russians, all were intermingled in volley ball matches, track meets, cross country hikes—in the spirit of an American intercollegiate conference.

The two reports concerning the conditions in Czecho-Slovakia were presented by a German and a Jew respectively; the Slavs helped to sing each other's folk songs, though the group included Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, and Jugo-Slavs. The appeal for Russia was signed by a Russian chairman and a Polish secretary. In the program of the last evening, when entertained by the students of Prague, the Ukrainian Choir sang; the Bessarabian Orchestra, reenforced by Jugo-Slav violinists, furnished music for dancing; the Czechs and Slovaks sang their national anthems; and, each in his own tongue, Russians, Bulgarians, Germans, and Jews made addresses of farewell. And at the close of the gathering a cable was received from Peking containing the announcement that the

World Student Christian Federation meeting in Peking, representing forty nations, had determined to continue the work of European student relief for another year.

Expression of this spirit is found in the resolutions adopted and the programs outlined for the continued work of the European Student Relief. Consider, for instance, this section of one of the reports on future relief: "Instead of giving and receiving countries there shall be for the future a cooperative work of all student bodies for one another, grounded in the thought of the solidarity of students in all countries as an omen of the road which the peoples of the world should follow."

One of the Bulgarian delegates wrote of the conference: "We children of different nationalities and states now feel ourselves as subjects and members of a common and the greatest of all states—the empire of spiritual relationship. Because the life and manifestations of the students have a great influence on the life of the different social classes, I believe that our last work will play a part of great significance in society, in promoting the noble idea of universal fraternity and love. We who are studying and live in close contact with the students of the whole world must try, during the time of our studies and also after graduation, to use the position we will occupy in society in doing only that which civilization wants and expects from us. The neglecting and con-

tamination of this noble social duty I would count as the greatest crime."

Czecho-Slovakia, because conditions are more stable and the government more tolerant, has become the student haven of central Europe. In Prague alone there are thirty thousand students of twelve nationalities. Many of the Czecho-Slovak students are now able to continue their education under favorable conditions which did not exist before Czecho-Slovakia became a republic. Thousands of others are finishing university courses interrupted by the war. A great many more have chosen Prague for their education because the universities in their own countries have been destroyed or crippled in personnel or give only the beginning of certain courses which are completed in Prague universities. The Jugo-Slavs, for instance, come to Prague to finish medical courses of which only the first two years are offered in Belgrade. It is true also that Czecho-Slovakia is more liberally minded toward the students than the other nations of central Europe and the fact that they can study there in tranquillity, despite their nationality or race, and earn a part, at least, of their livelihood, has attracted many hundreds more—especially of Slav students.

The difficulties which face these thousands of students in Czecho-Slovakia are hard to describe. In Prague, due to the fact that when the city was made the national capital, no building operations

had been carried on for seven years, the housing shortage was very great and the consequent congestion among the students can hardly be exaggerated. Last year in one dormitory of twenty-eight students, beds and mattresses had to be piled in the corners of the room to enable the students to walk about. There was no available room for wardrobe, tables, and chairs, and room for only two washstands. In another dormitory fifty men slept in twenty-five single beds and others slept on benches in the passageways. In 1920 two thousand students were without lodging of any kind. During the cold weather hundreds of them slept in the railway stations and on the floors in the halls of public buildings. Conditions which were unbearable two years ago have, in many instances, been bettered by the efforts of the students themselves.

The student colony at Letna, in the outskirts of Prague, grew from this spirit of self-help. Following the suggestion of a Czech engineer during a student Bible class a movement was begun to build their own dormitories. On the first day, after a general appeal, eight hundred men and women students pledged themselves to work. Several hundred students worked daily in completing the excavations, and the women students established a kitchen on the grounds and undertook to feed the workers, every man giving four hours of work daily being entitled to two meals free of charge. Business men in Prague con-

tributed generously of material and by October 28 (Czecho-Slovakia's Independence Day) the foundations were completed. On that day over five hundred students gave their holiday to work, and thousands of people came to see these "intellectuals" doing manual labor. The students were quick to take advantage of their curiosity. Entrance fees were charged, stones and brick sold at the gateway, and by night fifty thousand crowns were added to the building fund.

Throughout the winter the students worked. Lectures and the vital work of self-support required most of the daylight, but electric lights were fitted up, and during the winter months they worked, in shifts, through the night. Every student giving eight hundred hours labor was entitled to a room, and now, after two years, the colony at Letna accommodates nearly one thousand students.

The student colony at Letna, like the German *Studentenschaft*, is the product of dire need. But it is much more than a dormitory. Organized labor in Prague sent its representatives on holidays and during strikes to aid the students, and they returned with new viewpoints. Three thousand students, knowing there would be accommodations for less than one thousand, worked in its construction for their fellow students. Students of engineering and architecture—those who were better off financially—postponed the completion of their university courses in order to direct

the work. It stands to-day as the expression of the spirit of youth—the spirit of determination in the face of impossible tasks, the spirit of unselfish cooperation in the midst of bigotry and prejudice and intolerance.

The students themselves declared, in undertaking the work: "We will prove that our student is able, when it is necessary, to take upon his shoulders even the most responsible tasks. We hope that in connection with the students of the whole world it will be possible to build a new world —a world of creation and not of destruction, a world which will give every individual full liberty and all conditions necessary for the development of all activities leading to the physical, mental, and moral development of men. We believe in working for the better future of all students."

Out of disillusionment and suffering the youth of eastern Europe are coming to stand upon this common ground of understanding. This proclamation might well be accepted as their confession of faith. In it there is rejection of the old, but there is also acceptance of responsibility to build the new. In it there is revolt, but there is also reconstruction. In it there is opposition to the nationalism of the old order, but a belief in internationalism for the new; a stand against the emphases of materialism but a faith in the substitution of spiritual values.

Difficulties of housing, however, were not the only problems which confronted the students of

Czecho-Slovakia. Prices have been high here as elsewhere. In consequence it has been absolutely impossible for the students to eat in the restaurants, and so they have established student mensas similar to those operated under the *Studentenschaft* in Germany. But the meals provided have been uniformly poor and unbalanced, consisting usually of thin soup and "*Knedliky*" (dough boiled in balls and served with gravy). The evening meal for great numbers of the students still consists of black coffee or tea without sugar, and black bread. Few students have any breakfast. As for heated rooms in which to study during the winter months, there have been none whatever. One group of Slovakian students, in fact, found the cold in their unheated barracks so intense they were obliged to return home. And, in addition to all this the cost of textbooks has been prohibitive. Before the war the Academy of Sciences alone printed all scientific matter. During the war no such books were printed, and since the war money to print any number has not been available. Foreign books are too expensive to import and, as a result, students have worked in shifts with the same textbook. One Czech girl, for example, who had made sufficient money to buy the texts required in her course gave up her vacation in order that she might share them with twenty-six of her less fortunate fellow students.

As a clearing house for these many student

difficulties there has been established in Prague a unique and one of the most significant institutions for the development of constructive internationalism in Europe. In 1919 Dr. John R. Mott, of the International Y. M. C. A., sent representatives into Prague to study student conditions. These representatives went before the students and asked them in what way the Y. M. C. A. could best help them. They replied with a request for a student home. An initial fund of $30,000 was sent from the United States, work was begun immediately, and the result is the Studentsky Domov, an international student social center.

Many obstacles arose to retard the development of this institution. The students interested in it were accused of being Jewish propagandists, anti-Catholic agitators, pro-German and anti-German sympathizers and what-not, the organization was looked upon by many students as a ridiculous exhibition of impractical idealism and its early failure generally predicted. And when it was announced that the doors of the Student Home would be open to all students regardless of race, creed, or nationality even the friends of the undertaking strongly doubted the possibility of its success.

But on February 26, 1921, the building was officially opened. One year later the membership totaled 6,500 students of nineteen nationalities, including, in considerable number, Czechs,

Slovaks, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Russians, Magyars, Rumanians, Jugo-Slavs, Bulgarians, Poles, Greeks, Lithuanians, Armenians, and French.

I have seen the students of Prague flock to the Studentsky Domov, day after day, in great numbers. The place is a strange jumble of faces and nationalities. Men and women, in motley costumes, gather in little groups on the wide porches or stroll together in the open spaces before the building. The great foyer is always crowded. The reading room with many periodicals in myriad tongues gathered from the remotest corners of Europe seems always to be full. The girls' foyer, with an American fireplace, beautiful rugs and pictures and a grand piano (all special gifts), is the beauty spot of the building.

In another part of the building there are showers, a splendid free clinic, and a laundry (where one day I unceremoniously stumbled upon a young student rather inadequately wrapped in an overcoat, bent over his books, waiting for his only suit of underclothes to dry). The mensa, built to serve three thousand five hundred meals daily, has been forced to increase its capacity to six thousand and even that is insufficient. During the year and a half that these thousands of intermingled students have used these privileges there has been not a single case of dispute or disturbance among them. Instead of disagreement the Board of Control has instituted student auton-

omy in the conduct of the affairs of the Studentsky Domov, by means of which the students themselves have assumed the government of the organization. To visit the building any night during the week is to catch something of the international good will which it represents. One may find in progress an entertainment by the Ukrainian Glee Club, a Russian Singing Festival, a Czech dance, or a German debate. And whatever group provides the program, the other groups are all represented in the audience, whether or not they are able to understand the language of the performers or the significance of their performance.

The principles upon which Czecho-Slovakia is founded, however, have served to create an atmosphere of tolerance and liberalism in which such an institution as the Studentsky Domov can develop.

For four centuries the Bohemian people, who more than many others loved and fought for freedom and liberty in religious and political life, were held in complete subjugation. The story of those four centuries is one of the great tragedies and at the same time one of the great romances of history. In 1914 came the great chance. Unwillingly forced to fight in the armies of Austria, the Czechs seized the first opportunity to strike, this time successfully, for their freedom, and out of their struggle has come the new Bohemia. Blessed beyond its neighbors with leaders

whose vision commands the confidence of the nation, Czecho-Slovakia has refused to blunder its way along the path to disaster which other nations, somewhat similarly situated, are following. There, more than elsewhere, one finds recognition of the fact that the house of central Europe divided against itself cannot stand. Among the foundling nations which have been left to share a common fate in central Europe there is a significant dependence upon the leadership of Czecho-Slovakia. And it is not alone in questions of economic and political significance that this leadership is being justified.

One can readily believe that the well-ordered reconstruction which is taking place in Czecho-Slovakia might be brought to pass elsewhere in Europe and throughout the world had Europe and the world a President Masaryk to rally the devotion of the people and a Dr. Benes at his right hand to translate that devotion into a definite program of practical politics.

The feeling of the average Czech for President Masaryk is that of glorified hero-worship. From his position as father and spiritual adviser to multitudes of poor university students of the ancient University of Prague he has become father and spiritual advisor to the Czech and Slovak people and to those of other races who dwell within the land. Often he is compared to Lincoln, for, like Lincoln, he came from the plain people. He knew their suffering; he understood

their strivings, and now he stands at their head, the embodiment of their hopes. He was born the son of a Moravian toiler and started out himself to become a blacksmith until his love of learning drove him from the anvil to the university and thence to the wider field of politics, where his championship of the cause of Bohemia in the Parliament of the Hapsburgs forced him into exile. It was while at the University of Prague, leading the youth of Bohemia, that the great personality of this leader impressed itself upon the lives of many of those men who are standing to-day with him in the reconstruction of Bohemian national life. No greater tribute can be paid in Czecho-Slovakia than to say, "He was a pupil of Masaryk."

Of these disciples of President Masaryk doubtless the most prominent and perhaps the ablest statesman is Dr. Eduard Benes, Czecho-Slovakian foreign minister. I met Dr. Benes at the Foreign Office in the great Hradçany Palace overlooking the Vlatava and the city of Prague. The palace itself, begun by the Bohemian kings and later occupied by the Hapsburg emperors, is an immense building. One is guided across courtyards, along endless hallways and through the outer offices—chambers they might better be called—of the foreign minister. Mediæval though the palace itself may be, there is nothing mediæval in the present atmosphere which pervades it—of typewriters, roll-top desks, telegraph messengers,

countless telephones, and a small army of stenographers.

Dr. Benes' office, one of the finest rooms of the palace, is of great size, with huge ornately decorated mirrors and windows which look out over the city. But Dr. Benes is a small man—and, doubtless to avoid unnecessary searching in so large a room—he has appropriated one corner of it for business purposes. But one does not easily walk around Dr. Benes—in his office or elsewhere. There is something arresting in his eyes and in his handshake and the incisive gesture with which he asks one to be seated. As he talked he punctuated his sentences with quick turns of his office chair, or leaned forward toward me, his arms extended across the desk, talking rapidly and with choppy decisiveness. He talked about the problems of Europe, made more acute at the moment of our interview by the general collapse in Germany and Austria; and then of the need for spiritual renaissance—a renaissance led by the youth.

"We have laid too much emphasis upon the efficacy of loans and credits," he said. "There is something else much more essential. With all of the financial backing of America and England combined, conditions here in central Europe will never be stabilized until for our present hates and prejudices we have substituted a genuine feeling of good will. I do not underestimate the necessity of financial help. But whoever sets for

himself or his people the task of creating international friendship where now there is only suspicion will have an opportunity and a task greater than that of purely financial relief. It is a task, I believe, for the youth of Europe. If in the end we can help to establish throughout central Europe some of the conditions which we have brought to pass in Czecho-Slovakia and help to introduce some elements of cooperation into international politics—as the student youth already are doing—we will gladly waive all claim to credit for the achievement. But over here, close to the situation, we see that friendship is needed more than money and cooperation more than credits. In working for these things we believe we are endeavoring to bring to pass the most permanent reconstruction."

Already this spiritual renaissance which Dr. Benes asserted to be the need of Europe, is developing in Czecho-Slovakia. One sees many evidences of its coming. Of these one of the most significant is the organization of a national church, established in response to a demand of the Bohemian people themselves, that there be built the foundation for a new religious life in their country.

In his unepiscopal offices I met Bishop Farsky, one time Catholic teacher, now excommunicated, the first bishop and organizing genius of the new church. The bishop, like his office, possessed none of the characteristic marking of the episcopacy.

He looked much like a Slavic Lincoln; large hands, but finely shaped; large and shapely feet; a large head, closely shaven; and unclerical clothes that fit his gaunt frame only casually. At one end of the long white-walled room was a statue of Huss, in the center a great table on which were many ill-arranged piles of papers and around which the bishop walked as he worked—moving from one assortment to the next, disposing of business in awkward, boyish fashion, his hands always in the way of his executive duties. But there was an ever-ready smile that seemed to invite interruptions and swept away difficulties in manuscript and in person with remarkable ease.

The Czecho-Slovak Church, founded on January 18, 1920, is now organized in 115 great parishes covering the entire country, and numbers a membership of nearly one million, of which there are eight parishes and 140,000 members in the city of Prague alone.

The purpose of the new church, as Bishop Farsky expressed it, is to incorporate the best of Catholicism in a Protestant body which will provide a more satisfactory expression of the spiritual desires of the nation. Through the cooperation of many Catholic priests, it is even hoped that this new organization, in the end, may furnish a bridge across the gulf at present existing between Catholicism and Protestantism in central Europe.

The Hussite faith in liberalism and religious democracy, always inadequately satisfied by

Catholicism, revealed itself in Bohemia following the revolution of 1918 and the subsequent establishment of the Czecho-Slovakian republic. The Bohemians—once more—were to have an independent national existence. The political ideals for which they had been fighting against Austria for centuries were in the process of realization. It was but natural, therefore, that among a people so deeply spiritual there should arise a demand for a similar emancipation from the old religious order. Out of this demand has come the Czecho-Slovak National Church.

The corner stone of the orthodoxy—if it can be called orthodoxy—of the new church, in the words of Bishop Farsky, is "The desire to worship God according to the dictates of a free conscience." Huss and Comenius are the great patron saints of the organization, for these men best represent to Bohemians the ideals of toleration and freedom upon which the national church is founded. Membership is open to all those "who know God and who through this fellowship wish to know him better."

In the face of the hostility of the Catholic party in Parliament, which has blocked most of the measures designed to give financial help to the National Church, and in the face of criticisms of every sort from many sources, the organization is growing at the present time more rapidly than it can be managed. The spontaneity with which the new church arose and its phenomenal growth

during less than two years' existence is a significant evidence of the possibility of a spiritual renaissance in Czecho-Slovakia—a renaissance arising from causes not peculiar to one nation and which can scarcely be confined there when once it has developed.

A similar spirit among the students has found expression in the organization, in the spring of 1920, of the Czecho-Slovak Students' Renaissance Movement. In the rebirth of the national life of the Bohemian people many of the student youth of the nation were brought to recognize the necessity of their own spiritual rebirth. In the center of many contending creeds a little group, drawn together by common interests without regard to orthodoxy, formed a circle for religious study. There was no religious cant about them, no discriminations between them. Jews and Catholics, Protestants and so-called non-believers found themselves in the sympathetic search for the same truths. As one Czech student who has fought in one army or another for five years, expressed it to me: "We've lived quite close to eternal things these last few years. Religious interests have been and are to-day our greatest concern. It is through a revival of spiritual interest that we—Czecho-Slovakia and Europe—will find the way out of our present difficulties."

During the summer of 1920, after the movement had included in its membership many of the outstanding student leaders of the country, a

national conference was held where a national organization was perfected and a program for its future activities outlined. According to this plan the work of the Renaissance Movement is of two kinds, for the purposes of separation called the ideal and the practical. The ideal work consists of the self-development of the members themselves, in Bible classes, lectures of many kinds, and open forums. The practical phase of the work has extended into many activities of a varied nature. It was the impulse of the leaders of the Renaissance Movement which first started the building of the student colony at Letna; their representatives have led in the organization of collegiate athletics and the development of a student playground; in the penal institutions in Prague and elsewhere throughout Czecho-Slovakia Renaissance leaders regularly conduct lectures and give character talks in the military hospitals. Through their efforts thousands of pamphlets explaining the ideals of the movement have been distributed; they conduct a student employment bureau and have charge of a nation-wide student social program.

From the creedal point of view the tie that binds the members of this movement into a powerful organization for practical social regeneration is a belief in the life, character, ideals, philosophy, and world-program of Christ. The expressed purpose of the movement is "to unite the students and graduates of the universities to

faith in God, to the life and truth in the spirit of Christ and Huss, to strengthen, help, and improve one another, to work for the mental, physical, and spiritual perfection of all men, and to promote faith, goodness, and truth." And the members "who are seeking the truth and want to unite their efforts in service for mankind in a practical program of social welfare" vow "to live honorably in the spirit of Christ and Huss for a life of Truth and Goodness."

If the spirit of renaissance has developed in Czecho-Slovakia, it is because there a greater tolerance has made its unhampered growth possible. The spirit of renaissance, however, is the spirit of the youth of all central Europe, however much its development may be hampered. And whatever economic and political disunity still exists among these states, a spiritual unity is developing which, though its present significance is not always recognized, may prove to be a force with power sufficient to draw together in common understanding the nations of central Europe.

CHAPTER VI

YOUTH VERSUS CHAOS: POLAND—AUSTRIA—RUSSIA

The unhappy heritage of the old order in Europe has nowhere left a deeper imprint upon the life of a people than in Poland. It is well to bear this fact in mind before passing too hasty judgment upon the difficulties which the present Polish government is encountering. For centuries Poland has been divided. Three great empires controlling Europe east of the Rhine each ruled a part of Poland. Three rival religions, disputing for supremacy, each held in its faith a section of the Polish people and made of Poland its battleground. Approximately one half of the Poles were under the rule of Imperial Russia and the sway of the Russian Orthodox Church; one third comprised a portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and were Catholics; the remaining sixth were under the control of Protestant Germany. Whatever differences existed between these great Powers on certain issues, on the question of the subjection of the minorities within their borders they were of one accord. And as between political and religious tyranny there was little to choose between them. The dis-

organized state of Poland during the first years of the republic bears tribute to the oppression which foreign rule imposed.

Not only were the Poles divided thus horizontally between three empires and three religions; they have been divided vertically into four great and distinct classes—the peasants, the laborers, the middle class, and the landed gentry. Approximately sixty to seventy per cent of the Polish people belong to the first class. It is this peasant foundation of Poland which has furnished whatever stability is to be found in the country at the present time; and the peasants alone are responsible for saving the nation from Bolshevism. The laboring class, in Poland, tends to be communistic and free thinkers. In politics they stand opposed to the shrewd conservative peasants, and though the peasants stood against Bolshevism, their thought life is more definitely linked up with the East, whereas the laborers are almost wholly Western in their outlook.

The middle class represents the merchants and traders, of whom by far the great majority are Jews. Jews constitute about one seventh of the population of Poland at the present time. Until the middle of the last century—about 1863—the Poles and Jews associated together with little friction. At that time, however, the positivistic and materialistic philosophy which swept through Europe secured a hold upon the Polish people, supplanting the older idealism, and anti-Jewish

sentiment began to develop. About 1880 a great number of Jews seeking freedom from persecution in Russia entered Poland, and the feeling against them rapidly increased. During this time, however, they became the middle-class traders, furnishing a necessary liaison between the nobles and the peasant classes, and since then Polish business, increasingly, has come into the hands of Jewish business interests. In addition to the merchants a multitude of non-Jewish artisans, tailors, cobblers, carpenters and their apprentices belong to this third-class division.

Highest in the scale are the landed gentry, blue-blooded Poles, who own town houses and great country estates, and whose actual service to the nation is a matter of considerable doubt.

These four classes are mutually exclusive to a degree not easily understood in America or in England. Before the war interclass association was unheard of; men did not shake hands out of caste, and to climb, by education or any other means, from among the peasant class to a place of acceptability among the landed aristocracy was well-nigh impossible.

In the face of these divisions, however, the intense national consciousness of the Polish people has survived. It has survived because it has been kept alive among the youth of Poland. Schoolboys and girls and college students are always in the forefront of the independence movements of an oppressed people, and this is particularly the

case in Poland. In the schools of the land they were obliged to learn the language of their oppressors, to study Russian and German history to the complete disregard of Polish history and Polish traditions. In the end, it was thought, Poland's national aspirations would thus be destroyed. But such a program worked no more successfully in Poland than in Bohemia or Korea. That their nation's history might be preserved Polish school children learned, from their Polish teachers, the art of deceit. Thus, when the Russian inspector suddenly appeared in a school, Russian books appeared on the desks, and in answer to his demand to know what they were studying, the Polish boys and girls, who a few minutes before were reading of the exploits of their own heroes or studying their own literature, replied with the prescribed Russian subjects. Countless secret organizations, all of them working for the emancipation of Poland, were organized among the students. Polish student clubs were always political, Polish sports were always for the end of fitting the nation for the inevitable struggle against their oppressors, and every activity among the youth of the land was made to conform to this one great end. During these one hundred and fifty years of Polish history the Roman Catholic Church provided the only window through which the Poles could look out upon the world and through which streamed the possible light of a new day. The Catholic Church and

Polish patriotism became identified, until to be Polish was almost synonymous with being Catholic, and the religion of the people was as much national as spiritual.

From their mystic faith there developed in Poland during the early part of the last century a belief in the Messianic mission of the Polish people. In God's divine economy the Poles believed that every nation was given some great world-mission. Seeing their own nation crucified, they pictured Poland as the Messiah among the nations, and the cause of freedom buried to rise when Poland arose again to independence. In this faith Polish youth left their country and fought wherever it seemed the cause of freedom was at stake. It was this spirit that led hundreds of them to stand with Mazzini and Garibaldi and Cavour, and in 1863 it led them to a last, futile revolt against Russia.

The failure of this attempt seemed for a time to break the great faith of the Polish people. The complete victory of Bismarck over Austria in 1866 and at Sedan in 1870 ushered in a period of despair, which was made the darker by French skeptical philosophy and the consequent discrediting of the Messianic faith of the Poles.

The spirit of Poland was saved during this period by two men. Sienkiewicz, who in *Quo Vadis?* told the story of the ultimate triumph of Christianity, wrote three historical novels picturing the greatness of Poland in the seventeenth

century, and appealed to the youth of Poland to uphold that greatness in the face of whatever disaster might come. The second great personality was Mateyko, Poland's Michael Angelo, who after forty years study of Polish history painted fifteen great canvases immortalizing the greatest events of Polish history. The achievements of these two men served to kindle anew the fires of national spirit among the youth of Poland, and it is to the reconstructive possibilities of this youth spirit that one must look for assurance of a united and progressive and tolerant republic.

The chief problem confronting Poland is that of uniting the differing groups of Poles on a common national program. At the present time a great gulf exists between the Poles of one social stratum and those of another. In like manner, the Poles under Russian rule developed genuine differences from those under German or Austrian rule. To unite these diverse elements is one of the most difficult problems confronting any nation in Europe to-day.

The democratic education of the youth of Poland is the only means whereby this problem can be solved. Eighty per cent of the thirteen million Poles under Russian rule were illiterate. Under the republic, although, in theory, children are required to attend public school from eight to fourteen years of age, the facilities are entirely inadequate to handle them, and only about ten per cent of the children of that age actually

attend. But the situation is improving. There is widespread demand for an adequate national school system. At the present time, although most of the professors come from the aristocracy, the students are being drawn in increasing numbers from the peasant, laboring, and middle classes. Many of the farmers of Poland prospered during the war and, in consequence, their sons are in the universities. Some of the highest positions in the Polish government are held by members of the peasant class. Witos, formerly prime minister, was a farmer, and on all occasions he went about in the most informal dress, often appearing at his office without collar or tie.

Many of the Polish youth who have endeavored since the war to continue with their university studies, have been obliged to overcome almost impossible situations. Before the war every obstacle was thrown in the way of Polish university students. Education in the Polish language was permitted only in Austria, while in Russia and Germany the Polish youths reacted to the restrictions imposed upon them by boycotting the entire system. It was this state of affairs that accounted for the hundreds of Poles who were to be found, before the war, in the universities of Switzerland, Belgium, France, and England. With the rise of a free Poland, however, a great stimulus has been given to education, and within one and a half years six universities were opened. Before the war Krakow was the only existing uni-

versity at which the Polish language was taught, and Lwow the only other one frequented to any extent by Poles. Warsaw was Russian, and consequently under boycott. Posen had no university. Wilno had been closed by the Russians; Lublin was not yet founded. The university field in Poland now covers Warsaw, with 15,000 students; Krakow, with 5,000; Lwow, with 5,000; Posen, with between 4,000 and 5,000; Lublin, with 1,000; and Wilno, with 700.

In the autumn of 1920, when the University of Warsaw opened, it was discovered by the Y. M. C. A. secretaries at work in Warsaw that there were some twelve hundred students without a place to sleep or work, and that suffering from cold and undernourishment was widespread among them. To-day, after two years of relief work under the leadership of the European Student Relief Committee, conditions in Polish university centers are somewhat improved. Through a national students' organization, "*Bratnia Pomoc*" (Brotherly Help), to which between sixty and seventy per cent of the students of Poland belong, extensive plans for self-help have been put in operation. University students have learned not only to shine their own boots but to make them, wash and mend their own clothes; to be, in fact, completely self-supporting.

Bratnia Pomoc, which resembles somewhat the *Studentenschaft* of the German students, has

different departments for housing, clothing, medical help, for suppy of textbooks and scientific instruments, and, most important of all, for self-help. In self-help enterprises the students operate printing presses, soap factory, boot and polish factory, book bindery, etc. Throughout Poland an increasing emphasis is being placed upon the necessity of the university students learning a trade in addition to their profession—an emphasis which has grown out of the grim necessities with which students have been faced during these postwar years of famine and deprivation and disease.

One sees little enough evidence in Poland of a widespread renaissance among the youth of the land. The material needs of the present have been too pressing and the prejudices and political feuds inherited from the old order too bitter to encourage such a development. But there is widespread recognition of the fact that until a generation arises educated in the tradition of a new national idealism, Poland will be unable to occupy the place of significance in European affairs which rightfully is hers. But through the influence of such organizations as the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. and the European Student Relief Committee, Polish students of the present generation are learning much of the possibilities of international confidence and good will; and in the old army barracks, where in their many self-help schemes the youth of all classes live together

to share a common lot, they are developing the foundations for an educated democracy which, finally, may serve as a force of sufficient strength to unite the Polish people.

In much the way that the youth of Poland, in the period of their nation's oppression, kept alive the national spirit, the youth of Austria, now that their country has been reduced from an empire to a small and comparatively insignificant state, are exerting themselves for the preservation of the best in their national life. In fact, throughout Austria one is impressed by the fact—not apparent in all of the countries of Europe—that the people of all classes are making a desperate effort to extricate themselves from the chaos in which the repeatedly collapsing currency has plunged them. And especially among the younger generation they are making significant progress.

There are, for instance, twelve colleges and universities in Austria. In the University of Vienna alone there are eleven thousand students, many of them refugees from many nations, almost all of them destitute of means sufficient to provide adequate food or clothing or comfortable sleeping quarters. The desperate situation created by the falling crown is impossible to exaggerate. A few days prior to my visit to Vienna during the summer of 1922 the crown was quoted at eighteen thousand to the dollar. When I arrived it had suddenly dropped to thirty-six thousand to the dollar, and it would be

difficult to describe the consternation and tragedy which existed among the students and their professors.

And yet, in the face of these unparalleled difficulties, there was no lessening of determination on the part of the students to see their education through, or on the part of the professors to keep the doors of the university open so long as they had strength sufficient to conduct their classes. In the hope that students and professors from many European nations might go to Vienna during the summer months arrangements were completed whereby Summer School for the study of international relations was held at the University. Eminent scholars from English and Continental universities went to Vienna to conduct classes, and lectures in all courses were delivered both in English and in German.

The prospectus for this Summer School contains the following statement, which has an interesting bearing upon the determination of these who are suffering most from present conditions: "If you are interested in central and eastern Europe and would like to make observations and learn on the spot; if you would like to learn languages in the countries where they are spoken; if you are anxious to enlarge your views as a student and scholar with regard to your own subject; if you are willing to help a country free itself from dependence on charity and replace relief by a reciprocal 'give and take,' come to

Vienna and attend the Vienna International Summer School."

Another, and perhaps the most significant, indication of this spirit among the youth of Austria is to be found in a back-to-the-land movement which, although not confined exclusively to the youth of the land, is, nevertheless, a reflection of their spirit. In little over a year this movement has swept thousands of young workingmen, state officials, and wounded soldiers from overpopulated Vienna into the country districts. It is an outgrowth of the mutual welfare association formed among invalid soldiers and others during the war for the purpose of securing an adequate food supply for their families. Before the end of the war a great amount of unused land in the vicinity of Vienna was secured, and by 1919 there were over 40,000 such temporary gardens. It was estimated that 2,500 wagon loads of vegetables were raised, chiefly through the work of invalid soldiers, women, and children.

At the end of the war it was discovered that the population of Vienna had decreased from 2,200,000 to 1,800,000. Nevertheless, there was a great housing shortage. There was a large increase in marriages, and the cost of building, which had increased to a point eighty times that of 1914, made new construction impossible.

Another factor made the situation more acute. Unlike England and America, private houses in Austria are very uncommon. The laboring classes

live in large stone apartment buildings containing sometimes as many as seventy-five families each. Of the 550,000 lodgings of all kinds in Vienna, investigation showed 225,000 consisting of a single room or of a room and a kitchen. When, therefore, the Treaty of Saint Germain deprived Austria of the provinces on which for centuries she had depended for the support of her urban life, it became necessary for the people to find some other sources of supply. It was in this critical period that the back-to-the-land movement originated.

On the southwest edge of Vienna there is a beautiful forest comprising hundreds of acres which, formerly, had served the Austrian emperor as a favorite hunting park. When the revolution brought the Hapsburg dynasty to an end this forest became the property of the new government and presumably, therefore, of the people. At any rate, they appropriated it for the purposes of their own. A company of former soldiers arrived at the royal estate armed with a wagon load of spades and axes and hammers and nails and took possession of a choice corner of it. No opposition was encountered from the police, and they retained the ground upon which they had thus unceremoniously settled.

While carrying on their work they also enlisted, through newspaper aid, the interest and support of many other former soldiers and friends and proceeded to organize a settlement cooperative

society and to tax themselves to pay to build the foundations of their new city. That a good deal of spiritual enthusiasm went into its building is indicated by its name, "The City of Peace," and by the fact that the first house, which was ready for occupancy and publicly opened by state officials on September 3, 1921, was dedicated to "liberty, equality, and fraternity." From the sale of the timber on that portion of the estate selected as a building site the workers realized the sum of 1,000,000 crowns, and in the great stone wall surrounding the park they found abundant material for foundations for their homes. The bricks, many of them bearing the double-eagle of the Hapsburgs, went into the construction of some forty-one dwellings.

A complete plan for an almost self-supporting community of 2,000 homes, with a church, a school, and the necessary workshops and farm buildings, has been made and is in process of completion. Most important of all, each house has a garden, averaging 1,400 square feet, and special gardens and workshops have been provided for those men whose conditions make them unable to work full time. Cooperation dominates the group. The labor in the interests of the community is furnished only after the end of the regular working day, on Sundays and on holidays, but each potential home-owner agrees to give 2,000 hours of work for the colony. The houses themselves have been built in rows for reasons of economy

and will remain the property of the colony organizations, thus rendering individual sale or speculation impossible.

Other settlements, composed of workingmen, teachers, artists, officials, and professional people of all classes, were soon in process of organization and more than forty cooperative societies for the building of garden villages, involving more than 600,000 persons, have been formed. A national housing and settlement fund has been established by law, to be raised partly from a special tax assessed upon the workers of Austria. From this special fund loans are being made without interest for a period of years in order to enable the working people to join and share in the work of these settlements.

Perhaps the most significant additional help which has been made available is that of the Relief Mission of the Society of Friends in Vienna. This organization, which has been doing admirable work of relief through all of central Europe, made extensive investigations of various land settlement projects, gave small contributions of money and has made possible the securing of trained advisers to assist those in charge of the enterprises.

It is difficult to find in central Europe a more hopeful sign than this agricultural renaissance in Austria. With the cooperation of the national government and the experienced direction of the trained agriculturalists furnished by the Friends,

this movement may accomplish more for the permanent restoration of the country than any other means to which, up to the present, the nation has resorted.

It is to the vastly disorganized and undeveloped territory east of Austria and Poland, however, that the youth of central and eastern Europe are looking with increasing interest. In many nations the professions are overcrowded, but the universities are turning out each year doctors and teachers and engineers in unparalleled numbers, many of whom are getting on as best they can until the Russian situation clears sufficiently to allow them to enter that country and engage in their professions in safety. The present political regime may be—undoubtedly is—abhorrent to many of these young men, but Russia none the less remains the land of great opportunity in which they hope to build their future. With the first assurance of returning stability there will come a great rush from the university centers of Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, and Poland to stake out claims in this economic empire.

In the meantime university life in Russia goes on under tremendous handicaps. In twenty-one universities, eleven of which have been established since the war, there are approximately 100,000 bona fide students. Of these probably 30,000 are in the various higher institutions in Moscow and considerably over 10,000 in Petro-

grad. Whatever else may be said of the present government, it has, to all appearances, made an honest effort to promote higher education. The standard is not as high as before the war, but Russian professors are of the opinion that a Russian degree has sixty per cent to seventy per cent of its prewar scholarship value. The lowering of the standard is mostly due to lack of equipment, for example, laboratory material and recent scientific literature. The laboratories in the Higher Technical Institute of Petrograd were closed all of the winter of 1921–1922 because of lack of fuel, and the students were obliged to work during the following summer to make up for the lost time.

Of the 100,000 Russian students, fully 90,000 are in a semistarved condition. The European Student Relief is at the present time caring for some 20,000 students daily, but such relief is entirely inadequate. In the famine areas suffering has been most acute, hundreds of students being obliged to live on the bark and leaves of trees, the consequent undernourishment leaving them the prey to the most serious diseases. In regard to clothing the situation is equally appalling. Very few have anything but thin, threadbare suits and frocks, and fewer still have any underwear.

Not only is there a famine of the materials necessary for physical well-being among the students of Russia; there is likewise a famine of

materials for their mental growth. Professors in many universities have frequently expressed their willingness to endure physical deprivation if that would help them to secure the necessary scientific journals, books, and laboratory equipment. A recent letter from a relief representative in Russia contained this picture:

"The Chemical Society in England recently sent out some scientific journals. They have been intrusted to me for distribution and when I told some of the Moscow professors of their arrival their eagerness to see them was like the eagerness of the children in the famine areas to get bread. I am also sending you some interesting books which are a tiny part of the fruits of Russian professors' work during the last few years. There is, of course, very much that they want to publish but cannot for lack of money and paper. One is of special interest, the one on mathematics from Semferopol. The professors much wanted to produce this, but had no money. They discovered an old printing press, but could not find any type. Nothing daunted, they themselves took down the press, carried it to the University building and reerected it; then they succeeded in securing a stone for lithographing and fixed it up; then one of them, who is an expert penman, wrote the stone time after time, and so they succeeded in producing fifty copies of this remarkable book."

Sir Philip Gibbs writes that at one university

—at Kazan—there are 4,000 students all of them remarkably eager in their studies but working in the midst of great suffering and difficulty. The university lectures are held after ten o'clock at night, since none of the students, save the medical men, receive government rations, and therefore are obliged to work for food night and day. The rector of this particular university received 150,000 rubles per month and some rations in the way of tea and bread. Just how far this sum goes toward meeting living expenses may be gathered from the fact that a pair of boots cost Sir Philip Gibbs 750,000 roubles, or five months of this great scholar's pay.

In Moscow he writes: "In an apartment house filled with intellectuals—professors and students —I met a lady of the old regime. She was lying ill in bed, but received me very graciously, and asked which of five languages I would like to speak. She earns 3,900 roubles a lesson for teaching her five languages and averages six lessons a day. She was wonderfully brave in her philosophy and told me that hardship had done good to the younger people in Russia; those of the old regime who had been too luxurious and too soft. 'Now,' she said, 'they have learnt how to work and how to suffer.'"

Abundant evidence of the spirit of the student youth of Russia is found among the Russian refugee students who have flocked in great numbers to every important university center of cen-

tral and eastern Europe. Including Ukrainians there are, probably, over 12,000 Russian refugee students in European universities outside of Russia, 2,000 of whom are in Germany, 3,200 in Czecho-Slovakia, 1,500 in Servia, 2,000 in Bulgaria, 700 in Poland, and 350 in Constantinople.

Many, probably most of these Russian youths have fought against the Bolshevists in one or more of the many "White" armies which have attempted to overthrow the present regime. Their clothing is a motley assortment of uniforms of various issue, heavy and battered boots, coarse blouses and army trousers worn thin by long and continual service. Underwear is an almost unheard of luxury, and overcoats are still more unusual. In cold weather they have no choice but to move fast or to freeze. Because of their political affiliations practically all of these Russian refugee students are outlawed from their own country. To return, at the present time, would mean certain imprisonment if not a summary execution. Most of them have heard nothing from their parents for two, three, or four years, but they go on with their preparation, in agriculture, in mining, in technology, or in medicine, taking a gambler's chance that a new Russia will be born out of the present travail, and in that day the nation's great need will be for trained leadership such as they are preparing themselves to provide.

And during these years of terrible suffering

and more terrible uncertainty the Russian youths have been fighting unremittingly and with unfailing courage against the ever-flooding tides of pessimism and despondency which threatened to overwhelm them. In Prague, which is rapidly becoming a center for Pan-Slavic culture, Russian students were actually threatened by an epidemic of suicides. And then, under the helpful guidance of student relief workers in Czecho-Slovakia, the young men organized themselves and set about the definite task of conserving their physical and spiritual assets against the day when their nation will call them to its aid.

As an indication of the program which they inaugurated, consider this list of the various organizations formed among the Russian students in Prague; Kuban Club; Club of Don Cossacks; Capitols Club (students from Petrograd or Moscow); Pan-Slavic Union; Siberian Club; Ukrainian Union; Musical Union (boasting three orchestras); Russian Student Choir; Chemistry Club; Club of Naturalists and a Political Science Club.

The affairs of these organizations, of course, must be run without expense. The Chemistry Club, for instance, had undertaken a piece of original work in a study of crystallology, the Y. M. C. A. in Prague having been prevailed upon to defray the necessary expenditures for materials, etc. If the Russian orchestra is asked to play in a distant section of the city, the tram fares must be advanced to the members, who have

not sufficient ready cash to make the advance themselves.

Some among these refugee students have located their parents in Russia, and, in almost every instance, they have found them to be in serious need of food. Arrangements were made with the Moscow government through relief agencies whereby standard food packages costing $10 and containing enough sugar, flour, tea, cocoa, etc., to keep the average family from starvation for two weeks could be sent into Russia. Students, with no funds whatever, undertook, in addition to their usual work, to supply their parents with food. In most instances the necessary sum was advanced by the European Student Relief representatives and the students, in payment, agreed to abide by the following contract:

"1. To pay at each pay day to the ESRF all my salary earned in the shops of the ESRF.

"2. To work eighteen hours a week according to regulation in workroom, unless by special agreement.

"3. To keep my university work up to standard.

"4. To arrange in advance, leave of absence for laboratory work or special study for examination."

The Ukrainian students are in an even worse plight than the Russians. The republic of Ukrainia has a population of approximately 40,000,000 people, and its territory includes

some of the most fertile lands and some of the finest rivers of the former Russian empire. Before the war there were no institutions of higher learning in the Ukraine, for the Russians feared the consequence of an intelligent Ukrainian population demanding to be free from the yoke of the Czar. The Bolshevist regime in Ukrainia has established some schools of doubtful efficiency, and now there are two universities, one located at Kiev and one at Vinniza. The University of Lemberg, located in territory under dispute with Poland, had seven departments in the Ukrainian language prior to the Polish-Ukrainian revolution in 1917, after which these were converted into Polish departments and the Ukrainian students practically forbidden to study in them. That is, Ukrainians desiring to study in this institution were required to bring a certificate from the Polish government stating that they were members of the Polish army. This was an impossible step for the average high-spirited Ukrainian youth. As a result a great number of these students went abroad.

Those who remained in Lemberg organized public lectures in Ukrainian, in which, to some extent, the university work could be continued. These, however, were soon forbidden and the students and professors were driven to form a clandestine university, in which classes were regularly conducted in the catacombs beneath one of Lemberg's great cathedrals. Here, with what labora-

tory material they could get together, with a few ragged texts, the Ukrainians gathered around their professors night after night and in these dimly lighted tombs carried on their preparation.

I was meeting with three of these Ukrainian students in Prague. One of them was president of the Ukrainian student organization which unites, in a loose federation, the thirty thousand Ukrainian university students. We talked of the present situation in Russia and the apparent hopelessness of any immediately favorable developments. And then I asked of their own future. From many points of view did they not sometimes feel they should discontinue their studies? Just what chance was there for them in Ukrainia, torn between Russia and Poland? Were they not enduring beyond their share and staking their future upon a hope that could never be realized?

And I will never forget the answers of those men. All three of them spoke excellent English, but I doubt if ever before they spoke as they did that day. "We have no other course," they said. "What would you have us do? Discontinue our study because we are poorly fed and clothed? But if we fail, to whom can our people turn? We have professed idealism. This is our great chance. We must study. We will go back to Ukrainia. We will go back to be the servants of our people. They are without leaders, they are helpless, and we stand ready to give of ourselves

for them, come what may. This is our task, and we can never turn back until we have served among our own people."

I knew the determination back of this. I had seen the quarters where these men lived—unheated, overcrowded, hopelessly lighted with oil lamps. I knew the shortage of clothes among them, for that very day I had helped purchase outfits for some of their number who had just come from Constantinople more destitute perhaps than the rest. I knew the food on which they were obliged to live, for I had eaten it with them.

The souls of these student youths are being tried by fire. They have been robbed of youth by the desperate tragedy in which they have lived since boyhood. But the spirit in which they carry on is a spirit which cannot be denied when they succeed to the maturer leadership of manhood. If it is conserved, the nations of eastern Europe are assured of constructive leadership, and the world may be given an unparalleled exhibition of the practical possibilities of applied idealism.

CHAPTER VII

THE RISING STUDENT TIDE IN LATIN AMERICA

By Dr. Samuel Guy Inman

To say that Hispanic America along with all other nations and peoples of the world has been profoundly affected by the World War is only to state a commonplace. However, since these nations saw no fighting and sent no organized military forces to the front, there are few who recognize how profound a change the war really brought to them. And it is doubtful if anywhere in the world the good results were so preponderant over the evil as here. These nations, said by Ugarte a few years ago to be "on the margin of international life," have gained by the war a definite place at the council table of the nations. The world at large has a new appreciation of them, both for what they are and what they may become. With a new choice of suitors from Europe, Asia, and North America, and an opportunity to play the one against the other; with a fresh recognition of their own powers and their duty to develop these; with a new appreciation of the seriousness of right decisions when facing

moral and spiritual problems in international as well as national life; with a revelation of their educational and social systems—Latin-American nations have indeed entered a new epoch.

A new humility has come over Hispanic Americans. Countries that have heretofore considered themselves as comparing favorably with some of the big nations of the world have come to realize how utterly inadequate their resources in men and money would be in entering into a contest of the magnitude of the World War. They have been forced to face many decisions that involved an analysis of moral purposes. They lived, during the past, rather in isolation, believing that science had solved their problems for them, that nature had given them all desired riches and prosperity, and that religion had been practically eliminated. In their necessity of deciding which side they would take in the world struggle they were compelled to think of other than economic interests in which they had trusted almost entirely in the past.

They were forced to take life more seriously. The sacrifices and heroism of the peoples of Europe had large effect. The campaigns for the various war funds for the Allies were carried on in practically every Latin-American country and yielded large results. Little Santo Domingo gave some $85,000 in one campaign for the Red Cross. The Young Men's Christian Association was able to raise large sums of money for its buildings in

Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro, when the war was at its height. This new spirit of giving was developed by the war and will be favorable to a large support of philanthropic projects for the development of the community.

Among the reform movements now developing most rapidly are Prohibition and Feminism. As an example of the eagerness of women to enter into a larger life is found the recent organization of the Young Women's Christian Association in Rio de Janeiro. Within one year it had twelve hundred members.

There is encouraging demand for light in spiritual questions. A course of lectures, which proved to be most popular recently in Buenos Aires, was given on Emerson and the significance of the Puritan and Unitarian movements in New England.

Summing up, Latin America has been greatly influenced in industrial, political, and spiritual ways. It has a new economic independence, an awakening of labor, and a new attention to these countries from the rest of the world. A new friendship for the United States has been fostered and a new open-mindedness and spiritual hunger have been created. There have been also certain imminent dangers created—trade rivalries, imperialistic possibilities, and strengthening of materialism and militarism. The Latin-American nations have ceased to be children. Formerly outside nations looked after them, provided their

finances, exploited their national resources, and dominated their intellectual life. Just as the child who has been protected by others comes to be thrown on his own resources and is forced to choose for himself, so these young nations are beginning to face life with new seriousness and new responsibilities. They need the help from matured friends to withstand the many temptations that will come their way.

Among those who are giving themselves to the development of this new life in Latin America, the students form the most important group. Student organizations in these countries, composed as they generally are of the sons of the upper classes, have always exerted a strong influence in public matters. Students often showed their displeasure by staging demonstrations or "manifestos" when matters did not go to suit them. These demonstrations in former days were usually against some actions of the church or of foreigners. The change from the old way was vividly shown recently when the students of the University of Cordova marched through the streets, not with any cries of "Down with the priests," or "Death to the foreigners," but with these significant words written on their banners: "Luz, más luz." These students had come to realize that the great outside world is moving on, and that their antiquated educational system was not fitting them for this new world. "Light, more light" on present-day life was their demand.

As in China, the students are discovering that they may become a social and political factor. They are often foolish in aims and methods, after the manner of youth, but their influence is extraordinary. Lately they have taken to joining forces with the labor unions. This combination of students and workmen is one of the most interesting social phenomena noticeable in Latin America. Their energies are directed against reactionary forces. Their radical actions have brought about some startling results in countries where they are compactly organized, and in one or two of the countries governments are very much afraid of what these new crusaders may do.

In Peru this union has advanced no further than a student movement for teaching the laboring men in night classes, since the labor movement there is not yet strong enough to take any part in a fight for reform. But the students of San Marcos University are teaching classes of laboring men, that number from three to seven hundred, five nights a week, either in the student center in Lima or in industrial centers in the suburbs of the city. This is probably a most hopeful sign for those who look forward to the time when the Peruvian labor element shall be sufficiently instructed to take an intelligent part in their own emancipation from the drudgery and squalor of their present life. Even now this combination of students and workmen in Peru once in a while joins in a slap at the church, although to do so in

Peru means daring to put one's economic or social life in jeopardy.

In Argentina this student-labor movement has grown most remarkably. It has brought about results in most every phase of life. In 1910 the students and workmen came into open conflict in the streets of Buenos Aires. There were most serious results from this fight. To see them now working side by side for the forcing of reforms is therefore little less than miraculous. It is in Argentina that both the students and the workmen have carried their demands to revolutionary results. Student riots and strikes have not been amusing pranks or diversions by any means. They have resulted in serious fighting and death on both sides. In La Plata the police found themselves unable to handle the situation and soldiers were called out. They instituted a siege of the buildings where the students, armed with modern rifles, defended themselves for days. During one of the strikes a student who dared to go to his examination was shot down in cold blood by his fellow students.

A recent editorial in "La Nación," of Buenos Aires, says: "In the Colegio Nacional of La Plata there are found to-day much broken furniture, torn curtains, documents thrown over the floors and archives upturned because of students' riots. A great deal can be forgiven on account of the fire of youth, but it is impossible to understand how educated young men in cen-

ters of culture can fall into acts which reveal that the most essential thing in life is lacking—respect. This bad behavior is seen not only in the action of students of the Colegio Nacional of La Plata. It is seen daily among those who do not show any of the forms of courtesy which were such a beautiful part of our social life in the old days. There is a visible lack of regard for the rights of others. All places are entered as a conquered country, and there seems to be no feeling of power, if it is not exercised in acts of violence. This spectacle is seen on the streets at all hours. Trams are taken by assault. Women are pushed in elevators and loud comments are made on emotional scenes in the picture shows, where many of the spectators keep on their hats until the curtain rises. There is a general lack of respect, and this situation gives rise to such happenings as we have witnessed in the national college."

In Buenos Aires the rector of the Law School, one of the best-known publicists of South America, was barricaded recently in the Law Building by students, who kept him there until he was rescued by the police reserves. In Cordova the strike lasted for almost all of last year, and witnessed the same bloody scenes that in the old days used to be associated with labor strikes in the United States.

As a demonstration of sympathy with the students of Cordova the entire university body of

Argentina went on a three days' strike, when they paraded the streets and called with vociferous voices for their rights. Following that demonstration, the Argentine University Federation was organized and a convention held, in July of 1919, to study student problems. As a result of this movement the students have forced the authorities to revise the university system, at least to the extent of giving them a vote in the election of the faculties that are to teach them. This right was demanded because the students felt that they were not getting the teaching and attention that modern life demanded. Their professors were generally professional men, who came to the university for their lectures only, giving the same material year after year, paying no attention to the students, using their position for their own selfish ends rather than for the development of the students. One who has lived closely to these students, in referring to these struggles, says with evident sympathy for this movement: "If our students have not been called to shed their blood in the field of battle, there seems to be in these movements a moral awakening and a disposition to uproot at any cost the erroneous traditions from which they have been suffering. It is necessary to live close to these students, to suffer with them the results of being abandoned by governmental authorities and understand the terrible lack of moral guidance, in order to appreciate the meaning of many of their acts."

The state church is making every effort to checkmate the development of such movements as the workingmen's and students' organizations. This is brought out in a lecture recently given by Professor Telemaco Susini, a well-known member of the faculty of the University of Buenos Aires, before a great crowd of students and workmen in Cordova. The lecture is published in a series of booklets which are circulated by the tens of thousands in Argentina. The title of the lecture is "Social Problems and the Catholic Church." The following extracts from Professor Susini's lectures may be looked upon as the general attitude of these important groups toward the church, though it must be recognized that the church has itself succeeded in organizing other groups of students who, under the direction of the clergy, fight for the church:

"I salute you with more enthusiasm because, as I have said on other occasions, the university movement in Cordova has been the beginning of a social revolution which has brought about unity of action between the workmen and the students. I salute you, united in one desire, the love of humanity, and in the indomitable purpose to constitute an immovable wall against which will be shattered all the serried attacks of corruption and violence of your common enemy. This union has been made the basis of attacks on the students. With the principle that the end justifies the means, the enemy has called the workmen

anarchists and thereby has stigmatized the student movement as tending toward anarchism. Hence the contention that the government ought to apply the law to the workmen and stop the reform in university organization. Besides this, but with the same object in view, two organizations have been created for the purpose of combating this alleged anarchy and threatened disorder, to wit: the Argentine Catholic Union, which is to bring us social peace by means of reciting prayers, and the Argentine Patriotic League, which for its part, is to bring peace by means of violence in combination with the Catholic Union, with which it is so clearly identified."

One of the most encouraging things in Latin-American student life recently is the way both professors and students have rallied to the movement to help the needy students of eastern Europe. This call was conveyed through a visit of Charles D. Hurrey, secretary of the World's Christian Student Federation. In every city visited the appeal of suffering fellow students met with quick response. In Buenos Aires especially many of the leading university men are giving liberally of their time to the compact organization which has been formed for gathering funds. It is probably the first time in their history that Argentine students in a body have taken up a great unselfish cause outside their own borders.

The students of Latin America have often been the leaders in developing sentiment against the

United States because of its supposedly imperialistic desires. But when these students saw the youth of the United States rise to the high point of idealism in 1917 and give themselves to the defense of the small and weak peoples of the world, they began to openly express their admiration and plan for closer relation with their northern fellow students.

Just as the United States entered the Great War the writer began an extended trip through the southern hemisphere. All through the tour, beginning at Mexico, I felt this change of sentiment. But not until I arrived in Chile did it come over me with full force. On my visit there, three years before, I felt like leaving Chile on the first train, for I heard on every hand unpleasant references to the United States. The students of the universities were particularly hostile. This time, when I called upon a professor in the National University, I was asked to address one of his classes; later on, another; till I found myself giving a whole morning of talks. These led to a conference at one of the big theaters, secured for the occasion by the Student Federation. The theme they wanted me to discuss, "How to Develop Closer Relations between the United States and Chile." At the close of the lecture a full hour was spent answering their eager and pointed questions. I spoke very frankly, analyzing the good and bad in the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin, pointed out why each had failed to understand

the other in the past. That session with these brilliant young people was a most delightful experience. Their hunger for knowledge about North-American life, particularly concerning our universities, was certainly amazing and most refreshing.

As a result of meetings with the students in Chile, where Yankee-phobia had been most noticeable, they later sent a representative to this country to visit the North-American colleges to consult about what the students of the two countries might do toward bringing their peoples nearer together.

The students of the University of Montevideo, when the North-American Fleet, with four thousand new recruits from the colleges of the United States, spent a week in their city, sent a deputation to a farewell service for the sailors and said: "We must confess that we students had great prejudice against the United States. We had feared that your country had political designs on Latin America. But all we needed was to know you. Now we realize these fears were groundless. We now see your real selves and we know that your hearts as ours beat only for the good of all America."

Among the teachers and educational administrators, as well as among the students, are found this dissatisfaction with the past and a striving toward a new day. The movement among the professional educators toward modernizing their

work seems to lean toward a closer following of the United States in educational matters.

Upon my first visit to South America in 1914 I was impressed with the fact that North-American education was very slightly regarded in our sister continent. In 1917 I found that the students were turning to the United States because the war had shut them out of Europe. In 1921 I find not only that students are intensely interested in how they can get to the United States, but that educational leaders in the government and in the universities are also studying North-American educational methods and are becoming convinced that these should be more largely adopted by South America. In the past the French system was the generally accepted basis of education. German and Belgian professors have been employed to some extent during the last decade, but to-day the North-American educational ideals seem to be more popular. The returning students from the United States and the tremendous surge of national unity and effectiveness which marked American participation in the war are serving together to turn the attention of Hispanic educational leaders to this country. They begin to suspect that there is a whole realm of idealism and of intellectual evolution here into which they have scarcely entered. They are asking: "Is it not possible that an educational system freely developed in a free American state should have certain qualities that would fit it for the uses and

needs of other free American states?" The question has become a fascinating one for them. I do not wish to convey the idea that there is any wholesale copying of our educational system, for such is not the case. It may be even that I have identified too largely the desire for modernizing education with a leaning toward North-American education.

In Peru, the traditional friend of the United States, the president of the republic, has appointed an American Educational Commission through which the whole educational system of Peru has been turned over to North Americans for reorganization. There are now some twenty-five North-American specialists in school administration, normal, technical, and commercial training on the ground beginning their work. The number may be increased to as high as two hundred if the funds can be secured.

Besides this movement by the government, the classic University of San Marcos, the oldest in America, founded a hundred years before John Harvard began his college, has recently sent one of its young and enthusiastic professors to the United States to study our university life. He returned to Lima with a message of enthusiasm for North-American institutions and an expression of liberalism which is likely to cause something of a revolution at old San Marcos. Indeed, the first appearance of this professor on his return to Lima, when he compared the freedom he

had seen in other lands with the abuses of free speech on the part of his own government, led to a government interference and a riot. The meeting had been organized by the students and was held in the patio of the university. In the midst of the address government secret agents started a disturbance which grew until all who had guns were using them, and those of us who didn't were hiding behind any available protection. The invading of the sacred precincts of the revered San Marcos caused a sensation not only in Lima but in student circles throughout Latin America.

The University of Chile, located in Santiago, is a great school, a real university, with several thousand students. An exchange professorship has recently been arranged between the universities of Chile and California. This is only the beginning of what ought to be developed in every educational center in America. The head of the Normal School of Chile has spent three years in New York studying North-American educational systems, as a result of which he has changed his curriculum to conform very largely to that of our own State normal schools.

The younger elements in Chile, led by Professor Enrique Molino, have recently started a new university in Concepción. Its curriculum is quite different from the more conservative institution in Santiago and emphasizes the modern idea of pedagogy, science, and psychology.

Professor Ernesto Nelson, an influential Ar-

gentine educator who has spent a number of years in the United States, has recently published an important work entitled *Nuestros Males Universitarios,* in which he compares the North and South American systems and advocates the adoption of the former in large part. Professor Nelson is also president of the "*Universidad Libre,*" an institution, free of government support, which endeavors to bring the teachings and benefits of modern science to the people. While this institution is not competitive with state universities, it yet indicates that many educational leaders feel the need of striking out along new lines.

The University of Montevideo is one of the most liberal in South America. It maintains close contact with North American educational progress. One of its professors has recently become a secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association and is using his wide influence to get students to come to the United States. A party of these students arrived not long ago with a special greeting from the university to the mayor of the City of New York. There are already a number of Uruguayan students in the United States, and they are making a splendid name for themselves. They will return home with the power to present North-American educational ideals, to have them adopted in a larger way than at present.

The Brazilian government has shown its desire for closer connections with the United States by a recent law providing for the sending of about

one hundred students to our universities each year for special study. It was my privilege, recently, on receipt of a cable from Brazil, to meet thirty-two of these students, all of whom are now in this country attending various universities and preparing to carry North-American ideals back to Brazil. The Brazilian students in the United States are now so numerous and well organized that they publish their own paper.

There are about five thousand Latin-American students in the United States, scattered in educational institutions through the country. Some of them are sent by their governments, many more are supported by their families, and quite a number are working their way through the schools. Since the latter way is almost unheard of in Latin America, it shows the sacrificial spirit of these young men and women. Most of them are serious-minded and have definitely in view the special service they are to render their country when they return.

It is important that they have their ideals of life strengthened and their inspiration for international friendship deepened while in a foreign land. What they report to their home people about the country they have visited is already having great effect on their people's estimate of the foreign country's ethical and spiritual life.

Too little attention has been paid to these foreign students in the past. Our leaders in commerce and diplomacy have been careful to enter-

tain foreign visitors who come with their reputations already made. But the foreign youth has not infrequently been so mistreated in this country that he has gone home with a prejudice against the religious and economic institutions of the country that has been a great hindrance to international friendship. These foreign students are full of idealism and of new conceptions of what should be done to make the world better. Anything sordid which serves to shock this idealism not only harms the individual but sets at work a powerful influence against world brotherhood.

It is the young people of Latin America that are leading in a new spirit of international brotherhood. This is well illustrated by the recent message of sympathy sent by the Chilean students to their fellow students of Peru on the occasion of the latter country's celebration of its centennial. It is a well-known fact that, since the war between Chile and Peru, when the former provinces of Peru, Tacna and Arica, came under the power of Chile with an agreement for a plebiscite which has never been carried out, these countries have had no diplomatic dealings with each other. It required, therefore, great courage on the part of the Chilean students to send this declaration. Indeed, some of them suffered bitter humiliation and punishment because of it. But they did not falter. They declared among other things the following: "This generation, educated

in the sophistry that the interest of the *Patria*, just or not, is superior to moral interests, cannot understand, unfortunately, that we students place peace and justice above transitory interests. Only the warning cry of youth can clear the atmosphere and revive the sleeping sentiments of brotherhood. The American youth, who is given so many proofs of idealism and of an understanding of the real world problems, ought to fight constantly to create a spirit of peace in this beautiful corner of the world. On sending through the student organization the expression of our fraternal adhesion to all the peoples of America, and especially the young people of Peru on the occasion of its centenary, we understand that we do not reflect the sentiment of a majority of the Chilean people. But we have not vacillated in manifesting our own feelings, certain that they are just and noble and are destined to finally prevail."

An equally stirring demonstration of the students' attitude toward internationalism is shown by the recent international congress of students in Mexico. The significance of that congress is intensified many times when we think that the world at large has regarded Mexico as a hotbed of nationalism filled with internal fighting and external hatreds. When this student conference was called even the best friends of Mexico thought it would be impossible of realization. Yet representatives of twenty-three nations gathered in

the City of Mexico in answer to that call to consider the problems of unity among the students of the world. When we think that Mexico has been so lightly esteemed by the world that it has not even been asked to join the League of Nations, it is a still further tribute to Mexican youth that the first resolution adopted at this congress of students had reference to a World Association of Nations. Other resolutions looked to (1) the abolition of the present conception of the state where the few rule the many, (2) the destruction of the exploitation of man by man, (3) the replacing of nationalism by internationalism, (4) a continual optimism in regard to the solution of the spiritual problems of the world in spite of present difficulties. Another resolution condemned imperialism with special reference to four American questions: (1) Congratulations to the Chilean students for their message to Peruvian students and a condemnation of the holding of Tacna and Arica by Chile; (2) a protest against the United States' advance in Santo Domingo and Nicaragua and the closing of the universities in those countries; (3) a denouncement of the tyranny of the government of Venezuela; (4) a request that the students of Central America and Nicaragua strive to bring their countries into the recently formed Central American Federation.

This organization has actually set for itself the task of organizing the students of the world.

Wise ones will no doubt smile at such an undertaking, but I confess my astonishment when recently in Mexico City to find how far progress has already been made in this matter. Mexican student delegations have been actually sent to a large number of American and European countries, and student organizations from most of these countries have appointed representatives in the proposed organization. One is surprised with all that has been said of extreme radicalism in Mexico to find Mexican students more interested in helping the needy classes than they are in political agitation. In Mexico City alone there are twenty thousand students in the local federation. They have rendered large service to the poorer students by getting passes on railroads, by securing positions, discounts on merchandise, and helping economically and ethically in various other ways.

A remarkable service has recently been undertaken for the Indians of Mexico, who constitute about one third of her population. These five million Indians are living apart from the organized life of the nation, with nothing done to help them educationally or economically. The minister of education, himself a young man, made an appeal to the students to volunteer as "missionaries" to go out and teach and help the Indians. He pointed out that a spirit of sacrifice would be needed such as prompted the first missionaries who came to the New World. The appeal has

caught up about nine hundred young men and women who have left home and comforts to go out into the mountains to live with the Indians and teach them the best of Christian civilization. Most of these young people a few years ago were content to philosophize on life, write poems, and dream dreams. Now they have come to realize, if Mexico is to occupy a place of influence, her own young people must give themselves to solving the problems that have heretofore prevented progress. Nothing more significant has happened on the American continent than the rising of these hundreds of Mexican young people to go out in sacrificial service for the neglected and oppressed.

In order that it may be very clear that in referring to the new spirit of service and idealism among Latin-American young people the young women are included, let me cite the example of a young woman of Mexico, who is the manager of Mexico's children's restaurant, which furnished one hundred and fifty-seven thousand free breakfasts to the poorer children of the capital during the month of April. When investigators showed her the appalling undernourishment of the school children who fell on the playground at the least exertion and who went listlessly through their lessons, she resolved to do something about it. But she could find no help. With her own hands and with a single brazier and kettle, she prepared hot milk, coffee, and buns for children

in one of the schools. The results were so remarkable that others became interested, among them Minister Vasconcelos. A house and a small sum of money were granted. Little by little she made new friends who helped her to develop the work, and when the writer visited the center in the wee small hours, he found several young men and women, with a number of laborers, keeping the fires going under great cauldrons of milk and coffee which was poured boiling hot into dairy cans and hustled off in trucks to schools in every part of the city.

This is only one of the activities of this young woman. She is Minister Vasconcelos' "right-hand man" in many of the social experiments that the Department of Education is carrying out. She knows the needs of the poor from personal experience. The daughter of humble parents, she was compelled to earn her living from the age of twelve, when her father abandoned the family. Her own struggles in the industrial world, where the women were commonly considered fair game for the men, have made her a militant against the double standard of morality, the exploitation of children, the drink evil, and false educational methods. She won her teacher's diploma by study at night. Besides teaching, she has studied the social problems of Mexico's cities as a nurse, as inspector of police and as an official of the socialist party. As a delegate to the Pan-American Congress of Women, at Bal-

timore, she received a new vision. The contact with the women of the United States has reduced her radical tendencies, and her service to the women and children of Mexico will no doubt be of increasing importance.

It is a temptation to continue the personal story of hundreds of young people of Latin America who have been stirred by the new spirit of service and idealism which is welling up in all these southern countries. Nothing is so heartening when judging the future of these lands as the rising tide of the prepared youth ready to move forward to service for country and for humanity.

CHAPTER VIII

YOUNG CHINA FIGHTS FOR NEW CHINA!

It was late in the fall of 1919. Our party was traveling by coolie caravan across the Chinese province of Kiangsu toward the upper Min River in western Fukien. Finding myself at a river crossing piled on a ferry with a crowd of chair-bearers, I suggested to a Chinese friend that he ask one of them what he thought of Japan. He did, and, to our amazement, the coolie addressed broke out—as coolies can—into the most violent harangue, at the climax of which he pulled from his tunic a flaring poster depicting Japan as a well-fed thief scurrying away with the rice of starving China. Not only was he armed with pictorial propaganda, but, according to my friend, his denunciation was based upon a remarkable understanding of just what had taken place, effectively coupled with a great command of expletives which he freely applied to the objects of his hatred.

That was in the fall of 1919. Six months before (April 30) at Versailles, the representatives of the allied Powers awarded to Japan the German right in the Chinese province of Shantung; China's delegates withdrew from the conference, and China—ancient, lethargic China—began to

bestir herself. Six months later public opinion, the very existence of which had been doubted before, was aroused, organized, and effectively directed toward the expulsion of the Japanese from the country. Something approaching a national consciousness had begun to appear—the effect of which was apparent particularly to the Japanese, against whom the nation-wide boycott which made it possible was directed.

To the youth, the student youth of China, belongs chief credit for thus arousing the nation. However one may regard the results of their activity, the fact remains that the Youth Movement, begun then, not only seriously reduced Japanese business in China, but, not content with such a beginning, has gone into a great Renaissance which has for its aim the social, cultural, and religious rebuilding of the life of the nation. And though this Renaissance as yet has started no significant stirrings save among a very limited class, the revolution which it is working in the whole of the outlook of the intellectual Chinese toward the new China is of very great significance for the entire country.

Word of the award of Shantung to Japan reached China on May 2, 1919, two days after the decision of the conference. Twenty-four hours later the Shantung question was the topic of the day throughout the country. And on the third the first step was taken to organize into effective activity the spirit of protest which swept the

nation from Kwantung to the Mongol border, and from the Yellow Sea to Kuenlun Mountain. On this day a group of influential residents of Peking, including Parliament members, professors in the national university, merchants and student representatives, formed "The People's Determination Society" and sent to the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce and other commercial organizations a telegram declaring that they "shall henceforth sever all relations, whether commercial or otherwise, with the nationals of Japan."

The day following three thousand Chinese students, in a protest strike, marched through the streets of Peking with lurid banners denouncing Japan and the Chinese traitors who were alleged to have sold the country. As a climax to their demonstration they marched to the home of Tsao-Ju-lin, archtraitor of them all, forced an entrance, and, in the absence of their expected victim, broke the windows, smashed the furniture, and, for good measure, administered a sound thrashing to Chang Chung-hsiang, then Chinese minister to Tokio, another member of the suspected group. When the crowd was dispersing the police arrived and arrested thirty-three of the students.

It is indicative of the influence of Chinese students in governmental matters that, immediately following this demonstration, the three men against whom it was directed resigned from office and took refuge in a Japanese hospital. A meeting of the cabinet, called immediately, decided

to bamboo the captured students, and, although it was subsequently denied that such a decision had been made, the report served to arouse the students to further activity. At a mass meeting held in the Law Department of the Government University many teachers and prominent merchants joined with the students. After the manner of the loaves and fishes six bucketfuls of money ranging from copper cash to ten-dollar bills were collected to carry on the work of propaganda, and it was determined to send delegates to Shanghai and other cities to arouse the students and merchants and win their united support to the movement.

All the force of student opinion, meanwhile, was directed against the government to bring about the release of the thirty-three students. There was no distinction between schools of one grade and another, but all joined on a common footing in the common cause. For instance, all of the boys of the Lung Chuin Orphanage in Peking went before the officials and asked to be placed in prison in place of the thirty-three—arguing that since they were orphans their lives could be sacrificed without sorrow to anyone. The authorities, finally, were obliged to release the thirty-three imprisoned youths, being unable to ignore the intense public feeling created by their imprisonment.

It was something deeper than mere youth enthusiasm for a patriotic adventure that prompted

the students who, now, in every city of the country, joined to furnish the leadership in the boycott movement. Most of them—students in government schools—were preparing themselves for government posts. Continued activity of this kind involved the certain sacrifice of their careers. When questioned as to whether or not he had considered this serious possibility, one of the leaders of the movement declared: "If we must sacrifice our official careers by taking this stand, we can rest assured that if we did not oppose these iniquitous demands on our country, we very soon would have no careers because we would have no country."

The schoolgirls of the country—not to be outdone in patriotism by the boys—joined the movement *en masse*. The girls in the higher schools of Peking on May 9 issued a proclamation stating that, on behalf of China's two hundred million women, they wished to declare their interest in the great issue at stake, and to lend their support to the men in the fight for justice. Owing to the increasing demonstrations against pro-Japanese officials in the government, the entire Cabinet on the ninth of May tendered their resignations, which were not accepted by the President; on the day following, a general anti-Japanese movement was launched by the students both in Tientsin and Shanghai and the boycott of Japanese goods began to spread with amazing rapidity and effect into the Yangtze valley.

The program of the students was to work through the organization of Student Unions in every high school of the country. The first business of a union in any particular city was the enlistment of the support of the Chamber of Commerce and, through it, the merchants of the city for the purpose of making the boycott effective. In the second place, groups of lecturers were organized to instruct the masses of the people in the significance of the boycott and to persuade them to avoid Japanese goods or dealings of any sort with the Japanese themselves. I have seen them along Hatamen Street in Peking—a lecturer every fifty yards, holding beside him an anti-Japanese poster, earnestly explaining to a little crowd of coolies and merchants and artisans the purposes of the boycott. The women joined with the men in this work; their crowds were usually considerably larger, since the spectacle of a woman mounted on a wooden bench speaking to a crowd drawn from the streets was most unusual.

An editorial from a pro-Japanese paper published in Peking reveals, from the point of view of the opposition, the significance of the popular opinion which the students were arousing: "We must confess at this writing that there seems to be something different in the movement which has grown out of popular resentment and despair since the receipt of the verdict from Paris. It appears to be more intelligent, less emotional,

better organized, less furious, and, in the first instance, a clearer understanding of causes and a more thorough knowledge of the events which have led up to the calamity. Then there is, on every hand, apparently a firmer determination to remove the root causes so that there will be no repetition."

During the latter part of May—worn out with continual lecturing—the activity of the students began to subside, and the boycott seemed to be in a fair way to dwindle away with nothing accomplished. On the first of June, however, the government, misinterpreting the apparent cessation of agitation as a decline of interest, published two mandates, in one of which it endeavored to whitewash the pro-Japanese officials against whom the students had first protested, and in the other it issued a warning against the further participation of the students in demonstrations of any kind such as had been held during the month of May. The flame, which was burning low, was immediately fanned into a great conflagration more widespread and determined than the last. Throughout the entire nation student strikes were declared; lecture campaigns were begun again with renewed vigor and in the face of police opposition, the boycott was given teeth.

Old observers of affairs in China looked upon these developments with considerable disdain, believing them to be but the effervescent enthusiasm of schoolboys. Parades came and went through

the International Settlement, lecturers were seen along the streets of the Chinese city, all of which were regarded as without significance. All of this was true, according to The Weekly Review of the Far East (Shanghai) of June 14, 1919, "until a report reached Shanghai to the effect that the Chinese military officials (the same gang that gave Shantung Province to Japan) had arrested several hundred students because of their patriotic speeches delivered from the street corners and other advantageous points. When this report reached Shanghai the Chinese merchants, big and little, closed up their shops. It all happened in about thirty minutes on Wednesday morning, June 4. No one who didn't happen to be in New York on 'gasless Sunday' or when the coal supply gave out last winter will have any idea of the peculiar conditions brought about by 'Shopless Shanghai.' This was a real calamity, so Shanghai—typical Shanghai—began to take notice and discuss."

"Between drinks at the friendly clubs during the lunch hour and at other places there was further discussion, and as the discussion continued the situation became tense. . . . After the shops had been closed for two days word was received from Peking to the effect that the merchants' protest had been effective and that the students had been released. But with their power established the merchants naturally decided to make a clean slate of the matter and demanded

the resignations of Messrs. Tsao Ju-lin, Chang Chung-hsiang, and other 'pro-Japanese traitors' at the capital."

The strike was carried to every Chinese industry in Shanghai. Even the thieves guild that operates in the Chinese city joined the movement, according to a report circulated by a returned student who declared that since the strike order not a single case of theft had been reported. Twenty-three thousand Chinese were reported to be on strike in Shanghai alone. On the morning of June 12, however, word was received that the three "traitors" had resigned, and, immediately, the merchants opened their shops again for business.

The boycott of Japanese goods continued through the summer with very disastrous results upon Japanese business in China. The Japanese, who at first regarded the boycott as a good joke, after the first week began to grow apprehensive and at the end of several weeks found themselves, many of them, facing a critical financial situation. Japanese ships stood in the rivers with cargo in their holds but unable to get coolies who would handle shipments from Japan. In Chungking, twelve hundred miles up the Yangtze, two steamers were anchored in the river which, I was told, carried Japanese cargoes. For two weeks they waited, seeking coolies to unload them, and finally they were forced to go down the river again without discharging their shipments. While

in Shanghai, during the early fall of 1919, I set out one afternoon to buy an ordinary foot ruler. In the Commercial Press, the largest concern of its kind in China, I was shown a whole drawer full of exactly the kind of rulers for which I was looking, but the very courteous clerk informed me that they were not for sale—since they had been made in Japan. Bribes proved ineffectual, and though I visited several other stores that afternoon I was unable to buy a ruler, since all of them, apparently, were under the boycott ban. The boycott itself grew into a boom for native industry, and in the distant city of Chengtu I found that the students were using advertising space in a local paper—on one side of which they printed a list of Japanese articles which the people of Chengtu were accustomed to purchasing and on the opposite side a list of Chinese articles which would serve as adequate substitutes.

The real significance of the Student Movement, as it revealed itself against Japan, is indicated in an account of the boycott by Upton Close in The Weekly Review of the Far East for August 2, 1919: "It is impossible to longer ignore the effect of the boycott. Speaking for North China, in every port Japanese shops are closing out. . . . Meanwhile the students have spread to every hsien and, supported by popular subscription, are carrying their propaganda and education campaign through every village. They are teaching an audience, stirred for the first time to listen, the

rudiments of geography, political science, and patriotism. Along with this they instill the hatred and fear of Japan and set forth the boycott as the only hope of salvation from the fate of Korea and Formosa. Literally millions of farmers, dealers, and artisans are talking for the first time of national and international affairs, which it never entered their minds that they could express an opinion on, not even when stirred up by recent revolutions. . . . It is a remarkable thing which these young crusaders are doing—perhaps the real awakening of China at last."

The results of this Student Movement, however, cannot be confined to the effect of the boycott which it was instrumental in instituting, or in the ousting of a few pro-Japanese officials from the government. Under the leadership of students a national consciousness has begun to develop, a national consciousness which has been tried in the fire of a national crisis. It is in the further growth of that spirit that the solution of many of China's difficulties may be found.

The Student Movement of 1919, moreover, prepared the way for the intellectual Renaissance in China—likewise a student-inspired and student-led movement, and doubtless, one of the most significant in the history of the nation. It is impossible to dissociate the Renaissance from the Student Movement which was launched on May 4, 1919, and which we have just reviewed. The

Student Movement, however, had a political purpose. The Renaissance, on the other hand, is the product of a much longer development—a development hastened by the Student Movement—and has for its purpose the critical examination of the foundations of Chinese national life and the rebuilding of those foundations, out of the materials of the modern world.

The fact which gives to the Renaissance Movement such great significance is that great movements of any kind in China almost always begin with an intellectual appeal. To study the history of China, in fact, is to study the intellectual currents of Chinese thinkers. The intellectual appeal is uppermost in the classics, and, to an unbelievable degree, the classics dominate the life of the nation. Intellectual emphases have been woven into the very texture of Chinese law. The absorption by the Chinese of every race that has moved within their borders is further illustration of the same fact, for the absorption itself was an intellectual process. A great deal of the present-day opposition to Christianity by many of the young intellectuals is based upon a rejection of the narrow dogmas which ran counter to the broad philosophical racial mind of the Chinese and which, it has been believed, Christianity represented.

The Renaissance Movement originated in a demand that China, as a nation, be brought abreast of the world. Ever since the Chinese had first

contact with the Western world they have suffered repeated defeats and humiliations at the hands of more powerful exploiters. Even before the Chino-Japanese War, in 1895, the practical value of the introduction of certain of the material features of Western civilization was apparent. It was popular to adopt the material of the West and everything from railroads to matches and shoes was introduced. The Chino-Japanese War, however, revealed the necessity of going further than the adoption of the material of Western civilization—the men who handled those materials had to be trained in Western ways, and consequently, modern education was demanded. The Manchus themselves finally agreed to an extensive educational reform after the Boxer Rebellion.

It was not until the period following the establishment of the republic that it was found necessary to go still deeper if China's national life was to be refounded. Heretofore the technical developments of the Western world, mechanically and educationally, had been the center of attention. Now, however, there appeared a growing determination to adopt the principles according to which Western civilization had been built up, apply those principles to the civilization of China in the hope that—rather than to bring about the adoption of Westernisms poorly adapted to the East—it would be possible to rebuild out of Chinese material a distinctly Chinese national life.

The Renaissance finds its immediate cause in the demand for a national written language, accessible to the masses of the people. This demand was greatly stimulated by the Student Movement of 1919. The students suddenly found themselves confronted with the task of carrying the story of Shantung to China's millions. But there was no adequate medium for such propaganda. The Chinese which is found in the classics was already a dead language in 120 B. C. What was needed was a universal acceptance of *pai hua*, the plain speech of the vast majority of the people, as a national language—the instrument of a living literature. But *pai hua* was a vulgar tongue, it was said, unacceptable to the Chinese literati.

It is true that before this time, in 1915 in fact, in the columns of La Jeunesse, an obscure paper purporting to be interested primarily in the general discussion of political, social, economic, and literary problems, Dr. Suh Hu, a graduate of Columbia University and professor of literature in the National University, published several articles on the need of adopting some form of written expression accessible to the average Chinese. But Dr. Hu was met with an avalanche of criticism, since his contentions struck at the very heart of all that was most highly revered by the older intellectuals of the country.

But in the face of the national crisis which the Student Movement sought desperately to meet there was little time to heed the protests of the

more slowly moving literary conservatives. The opposition to the literary revolution was fairly inundated in a great flood of literature written in the spoken tongue which was soon recognized as the *Kuo Yu,* the national language. This literature, for the most part, in the beginning was in the form of periodicals—weeklies or monthlies—run by the students. It has been estimated that some four hundred new periodicals in the vulgar tongue were started during 1919. But before long the daily papers began to devote a certain number of columns to articles written in the spoken language; and their supplements, which before had been filled, for the most part, with doubtful advertisements of actors and singsong girls, were now devoted to editorials and special reports of educational and philosophical lectures and with translations of short stories from Western writers—nearly all of it written in *Kuo Yu.*

Before going into the further developments of the Renaissance Movement it is important to mention the introduction of the phonetic script, which proposes to reduce the forty thousand characters of the big Chinese dictionary to an alphabet of sixty, and to reduce the time required to learn to read widely from a ten-year study to a month's intensive work.

But the adoption of a national, popular, written language was only the beginning of the Renaissance Movement. The interest in a medium for writing gave way before an increased interest

in the content of what was written. Through the channel of this new and democratic medium of expression the whole range of social, political, moral, and religious questions which have troubled, or are troubling, the Western world have come under consideration; and there have been dabblings—serious or silly, as the case may be—in many things from Sovietism to *vers libre*.

A glance at the contents of the three magazines which are devoted exclusively to furthering the Renaissance Movement will serve to reveal the wide range of interests which are being given serious consideration:

The Renaissance, Volume II, No. 3:

The Christ before Jesus.
The Foundations of Anarchy, and the Society of Anarchy.
Opposed to the Life of Individualism.
The Field of Psychology.
Industry in Relation to Livelihood.
Woman's Rights and the Law.
The Present Day Power of Democracy.
The Building of Public Opinion.
The Methods of Sociology.

Le Jeunesse, Volume VI, No. 4:

Pragmatism.
The Foundations of Russian Revolutionary Philosophy.
Work in Relation to Life.
Discussing the Foundations of Electoral Franchise.
Revolution in Thought.
Men's and Women's Social Relations Should be Free.

Emancipation and Reconstruction, Volume I, No. 2:

Leadership, Competition, and the Labor Movement.
Labor Unions.
A Criticism of Socialism.
Biological Egoism, Altruism, and Universal Love.
The Education of Commercial Apprentices.
The Logical Leadership of the Labor Movement.
Lenin and Trotsky—the Men and Their Ideas.
The Definition of Socialism.

At the present time the forces of the Renaissance seem to be divided into very definite groups —the Christian and the non-Christian. The former group, the center of which is in Nanking University, maintains that the Christian philosophy and the Christian social system alone can prove the foundation for the China of the future. The World's Student Christian Federation in China is the organization through which this group is working.

The anti-Christian group, which might even be called the anti-religious group, is centered in the National University in Peking. In place of Christian philosophy this group, for the most part, advocates a return to Confucius, and in place of religion would substitute æsthetics. Not only is there a difference in the two groups on the matter of religion, but in regard to the literary revolution itself Peking advocates the phonetic and the abolishment of the classic for the popular language, whereas Nanking supports the classic, or, as a compromise, a modified classic language.

Religion, in fact, is the very center of the whole Renaissance Movement, at the present time. Dr.

Suh Hu, already mentioned as one of the pioneers of the movement, declares in this regard: "We have maintained that all religious creeds, be they Confucian or Christian, must be critically examined before they can be accepted and acted upon. For this reason we have criticized a number of the untenable superstitions both in Christianity and Confucianism."

Mr. Timothy Tinfang Lew has stated, in the Chinese Recorder for May, 1921, the various Renaissance attitudes toward religion:

1. Religion is useful, important, and essential to a well-rounded life, but it requires adequate philosophical interpretation, for philosophy is a mediator between religion and science and can reconcile the two.

2. Religion is useful to-day as a strengthening force to aid mankind until science progresses to the point where it can supplant religion, which will then gradually die out. Philosophy, according to this view, must be in harmony with science, for religion will eventually be a negligible factor.

3. Whether or not religion will live as a vital force depends upon whether or not it is able to stand the test of the modern age through which it is passing. The question here is whether or not religion can satisfactorily prove the existence of the God which it professes to be true; whether or not it can actually carry out and establish the ideals which it professes to uphold; and whether, finally, it can shake off the shackles of traditions and autocratic ecclesiasticism and maintain its position in the face of modern science.

4. Religion has been useful, and perhaps is still useful, but the very reason why religion is useful is because it inspires, comforts, and sweetens life, all of which advantages may be secured through æsthetics. This particular attitude is being more widely defended every day, and the leader of this wing which proposes to substitute æsthetics for religion, is Chancellor Tsai, of the National University.

5. Religion is invaluable because of its spirit, attitude, and faith. These give people strength and victory, and these qualities are sorely needed in China to-day, although it may be possible to secure them without the aid of religion.

Mr. Lew goes further and summarizes the general results of the Renaissance Movement as follows:

1. It has given the students in particular and the public in general a new attitude toward the problems of life and developed a critical attitude of mind.

2. It has inspired the race with a new hope and courage. This movement has sounded a new note of hope of the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness.

3. It has taught the people the value and the absolute necessity of science. It has introduced scientific methods and is very loudly advocating the omnipotence of science.

4. It has given the people a new tool of expression. The movement has come into power chiefly through its consistent, courageous, merciless attack upon the old Chinese literary writing.

5. The Renaissance has introduced a new method of studying the things which are old and has given them a new valuation. A feature of the movement is its interest in the ancient Chinese customs, literature, and institutions which runs parallel with the worship of the new.

6. The movement has taught the people how to think. The Chinese people have been dissatisfied with existing conditions. They have been groping in the dark. They have found that bad fortunes came upon them one after the other, and it seemed that no matter which way they turned they faced disaster and defeat; but this movement has taught the people to think fearlessly, to think critically, and to think persistently, finding solutions for their perplexing problems, instead of rushing to new activities without forethought.

There is but little question that through the Student Movement and the Intellectual Renais-

sance the youth of China are beginning within the nation the development of a national consciousness which with increasing insistence will demand for China a new structure of national life based upon those principles which, under careful criticism, have been found to merit adoption. That the movement may be misled there is no question. Nor is there any question that politicians already have sought to divert its enthusiasms to their own ends. To bring about the immediate regeneration of China is not within the possibilities of the movement. But, despite obvious limitations, these student youth are actually clearing the ground and helping to lay the foundations of a new structure of Chinese society, a structure distinctively Chinese but built in accord with the modern idea of progress.

CHAPTER IX

DEMOCRACY AND THE YOUTH OF JAPAN

By Arthur Daniel Berry

The youth of Japan are incurably romantic. They are characterized by a noticeable strain of idealism. If you ask a Japanese student to write his autobiography, it will be shot through and through with poetry, and it will be tinged with melancholy.

In Old Japan this romanticism found its expression in the spirit and exploits of the Samurai. In modern Japan it has found an expression in the exulting determination to build up a modern army and navy and make Japan a recognized world-power. But now the romanticism of the youth of Japan finds a totally new expression. It is in pacificism and democracy.

The most popular word on the lips of the young men of Japan to-day is *Dem-o-cra-cy.* By obliterating the accent they have taken our word "democracy" and made it a Japanese word.

The young men of Japan did not have that close personal contact with the World War that the young men of Europe and America had. Only the comparatively few young men on the war

ships of Japan, and the small number who were in the fight in taking Tsingtao from the Germans, had that personal contact with the war. Nevertheless, the war very profoundly affected the young life of Japan. That influence was intellectual, political, and spiritual.

There has been a mistaken notion in America that the Japanese people were not whole-heartedly on the side of the Allies in the war. A writer in an American weekly magazine in a series of articles on Japan recently makes the claim that Japan was only half-heartedly on the side of the Allies in the war. He makes the statement that the Japanese were as sorry and as shocked over the conclusion of the war as we were over the breaking out of the war. He offers as proof of this that no Japanese celebrated the Armistice until they were ordered to do so by the Emperor. This is based upon ignorance of the way the Japanese celebrate victories. During the Russian War I lived in the city of Moji, which was the nearest seaport to the scene of war. For six months we had been waiting to hear of the fall of Port Arthur. Thousands of Japanese soldiers were being slaughtered every day in the terrible struggle to take Port Arthur. We knew that the fall of Port Arthur would mean the final Japanese victory in the struggle with Russia. At last, about New Year's time, the news came to us in Moji that Port Arthur had fallen. As an American fresh from America I looked out on the

city of Moji from my house on the hill, expecting to see the whole city rise in excitement to celebrate that great victory. Absolutely nothing happened. Three days after, when the plans had all been made in the proper way, the celebration was held with a big lantern parade. That was exactly the way the people of Tokyo celebrated the news of the Armistice at the close of the World War.

But whatever may have been the case with the rest of Japan, the youth of Japan certainly were whole-heartedly on the side of the Allies, so far as they could be on any side in a war struggle. We who were in Japan all through the war know this to be the simple truth.

The whole question of the militarism of Japan comes in here. Perhaps we may sum up all our dislike and all our criticism of Japan in the one word "militarism." But we should consider the militarism of modern Japan historically. For two hundred years Japan was in utter seclusion from the rest of the world. Then, in 1853, America went over to Japan and, in a very friendly way, persuaded Japan to open her doors and to come out into our modern world. That was one of the finest things American statesmanship and diplomacy has ever done.

But when Japan came out into our modern world, what did she find? She found herself in a militaristic world, where the nations of the world got what they wanted and kept what they wanted

by force. Europe was an armed camp and wars were frequent. The same thing was true of America. We got our independence by war. We fought Mexico to get what we wanted. We had to fight a four years' Civil War to keep what we wanted as a nation. We fought Spain to get what we wanted. No matter how high our ideals have been as a nation, we have fought to get and to keep what we wanted.

When Japan came out into our modern world the second great thing that she found was the fate of the rest of Asia—under the heel of Europe. She found hardly any real independence left in the whole continent of Asia. The same thing was true of Africa and the South Sea islands.

What did Japan do? She did the only thing a nation could do, with any spirit of independence and national dignity. She armed herself in Western style. She built up that remarkable modern army and navy, which quickly became the amazement of the world. By building up that modern military machine she saved her national independence and dignity. She saved herself from the fate of the rest of Asia, and she became recognized as one of the great world-Powers. Whenever we think of the modern militarism of Japan we should always remember what that modern militarism has meant, namely, her national independence and her place in the world to-day.

We who know Japan intimately know that the great mass of the Japanese people are nonmili-

taristic, idealistic, democratic. But there has grown up around that modern military machine a strong militaristic party which has been, and still is, Prussian, in spirit and method. The problem of the Japanese people has been to keep that military machine strong and up-to-date, and ready for any emergency, and at the same time to curb the militaristic party which has grown up around it. That is a very difficult problem.

The problem will be solved by the youth of Japan, for the youth of Japan are idealistic to the core, and they are inclined strongly to absolute pacificism. I have had Japanese young men at dinner, at my table, when I, a Christian missionary, have been the only one at the table who would argue that war was ever right.

Last winter Mr. Ozaki, the most progressive of Japanese statesmen to-day, introduced a very drastic disarmament resolution in the Imperial Parliament. It was such a disarmament policy as probably no government in the world to-day would adopt. The vote was ninety per cent against it and ten per cent for it. Then he took the same resolution to the Imperial University and presented it to the students for their vote. We must remember that the leaders of Japan come largely from the Imperial Universities. There the vote was ninety per cent for that drastic disarmament policy and ten per cent against it.

A striking editorial in the Herald of Asia, a Japanese publication, gives the new trend of thought in Japan:

A great change is imminent in our world of politics, due to the enormous strides recently achieved in the prevalence of democracy among us. This is particularly noticeable among those of the rising generation—young men, for instance, between twenty and thirty. Nobody who has no personal contact with them will hardly be able to realize the extent of liberalism prevailing among them. In the next five or six years the democratic movement will acquire almost irresistible momentum.

Professor Yoshino, of the Imperial University, gave a remarkable address a year ago on "The Coming Change in Japanese Politics." He gave a historical review of political thought in modern Japan. The conclusion of the address was in regard to the youth of Japan. He said:

But when it comes to the rising generation of young men, they are taking a new view of affairs, which we may call the world-view, a very different view from that of the older men, who obtained their ideas a generation ago, ideas that now seem exceedingly narrow. Between the politics of the preceding generation, the politics in power to-day, and the people, especially these young people, there is a great gulf fixed.

The coming generation, made up of these young people of the new and broad ideas, has no power to-day except the power of thought. Most of them are still students. The power that comes from office and position and influence will be theirs as these young men come into their own. A great change is coming. Japan will have a new day.

I want to say in conclusion just one word in regard to these new ideas. They are Christian ideas. Not that they bear that name or are called such or are being recognized

as such perhaps by those who are developing them, but the fundamental forces that are pushing these young men forward have their origin in the strength that comes from Christian ideals. A vigorous, powerful, divine force is pushing them forward into a new day. That is the power that is behind the movement. That is the leaven that is leavening the whole.

An interesting sidelight on this whole new trend in the young life of Japan is the fact that Japan to-day is having difficulty in securing sufficient students for her naval and military academies, and a still more interesting sidelight is the report that the young women of Japan are beginning to boycott military and naval officers as suitors in marriage!

If we wish to know the democratic, idealistic feeling of the Japanese youth of to-day, we should listen to students giving their orations in college literary exercises. Those orations are filled with political idealism and international brotherhood. The students boldly call upon their government to stop all aggressions in China. They demand that autonomy and even independence shall be given to Korea. And when I left Japan they were demanding that Japan should withdraw her army immediately from Siberia.

A great characteristic of the Japanese people is loyalty, which Professor Royce said was the greatest thing in the life of the spirit in our human world. Through the centuries the Japanese people have developed a very intense loyalty. It is a natural characteristic of the youth of

Japan. It is shown in a practical way by our students who come back from college graduation in America and who take work in our schools and churches for a half or a third of the salary they would receive easily elsewhere. When this intense spirit of loyalty gets fairly started in the direction of world democracy and brotherhood, a great day will dawn in the Orient.

In the background of all our thought about Japan is the thought that Japan is passing through chaos. This chaos is the result of the clash of two civilizations. The old civilization of Japan was an artistic, ethical, religious, and a very romantic civilization. If we wish to understand Japan to-day at all, we must not only admit that Japan had an ancient civilization of her own, but we must, as far as possible, learn to appreciate that old civilization. But we do not have that civilization in Japan to-day. In its place we have a strange conglomeration of the old and the new, native and foreign. There is a conglomeration in clothes, in food, and architecture, in sports and art and language and literature and music. There is a social, industrial, political, and religious conglomeration filling Japan to-day.

But we must not make the mistake that many have made—that the Japanese people are trying to substitute our civilization for their own. The thing they are trying to do is to combine our civilization and their own and out of the two

make a new civilization. They are now in the midst of the interesting and ugly process of adjustment.

In the working out of that chaos, in the adjustment of the two civilizations, the youth of Japan find their national task. We of the West may watch that chaos and that process of adjustment with interest. But there is a tragic phase of it which we cannot watch merely with interest. That is the ethical and spiritual phase which has come to light more recently.

The old civilization of Japan had its own sanctions and standards and motive passions and ideals. These are either lost or being lost to-day. The beautiful romantic appeal of Shintoism is swallowed up in the modern rush of business. Mikado worship, as we call it, is no longer psychologically possible in the minds of the youth of Japan. Buddhism seems water-logged, too lumbering and cumbersome for the new life of Japan. Confucianism has no modern dynamic or appeal. Bushido was too fragile a thing to last over into the new era. Besides losing all these old sanctions and ideals, our Western materialism, both theoretical and practical, has swept into Japan to destroy whatever might remain of religious thought and feeling.

The result is that Japan is in danger of losing her soul. The new civilization that is being worked out in the slow and ugly process of adjustment may have no life of the spirit. This is

the expressed conviction of the leaders of Japan to-day.

The problem before the youth of Japan is not only the problem of making a new civilization in its material and physical and intellectual and political phases out of the two civilizations that have clashed in Japan. The more critical problem of the youth of Japan is to give that new civilization a new life of the spirit. In other words, the young people of Japan must save the soul of Japan.

This is the point where we of the West may help Japan to-day. We do not need to help the Japanese work out their new civilization in general. They are well able to do that themselves; and if they need assistance, they will secure that assistance wherever it may be found in the wide world. But the thing that we may offer to do, the thing that we may go to Japan to do, is to help in the much bigger problem of giving to Japan new sanctions and standards and ideals and a new and deeper motive passion, in order that that new civilization may have a great spiritual side to it.

This is the real task in Japan to-day, and we may simplify it, if we wish, by stating it in this way. We are to give Japan Jesus Christ, who alone is strong enough and fascinating enough to give to the youth of Japan those new sanctions and ideals and motive passions that Japan must have to save her soul.

I said at the beginning that there is a tinge of melancholy noticeable in the youth of Japan that finds its extreme expression in the habit of suicide. We may almost say that suicide is a habit of the young Japanese. When I teach college men in Japan morals there are two subjects in which I am always sure they will disagree with me. For the most part they will accept all other teachings taken from Christian ethics with easy agreement. The two subjects they will not accept in any easy way are marriage and suicide. They will not agree that a man should leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife! And they will not agree that suicide is always wrong. And always, in the course of argument, the example of General Nogi is brought into the argument. It is a side-light on the thought and feeling of the youth of Japan to know that General Nogi is their great modern hero, and I feel that I am almost being sacrilegious when I insist that in committing suicide on the night of the funeral of the old Emperor, General Nogi did a wrong thing. I make my point, however, by proving that in doing that thing he made a mistake. I ask them what the newspapers, the day after the funeral of the Emperor, were filled with? And they realize, for the first time, that General Nogi by committing that supreme act of loyalty to the old Emperor on the solemn night of his funeral, really crowded the Emperor out of the newspapers and made himself the most conspicuous person in Japan that

day. This may be an *argumentum ad hominem*, but at least it causes the students to question the wisdom if not the ethics of suicide.

The easy suicide habit of the young people of Japan is one of the results of Buddhistic Nirvana teaching, which has left a trail of curse through the whole life of the Orient. The individual is submerged in the mass life of the family or the nation. The womanhood of Japan, and of the whole Orient, has been cursed by that submergence. That is true also of the youth of the Orient. A new, bold, uncompromising individualism is needed to blow through the thought life of the whole Orient. This will give to the Orient the intimate right and dignity of every individual man, woman, and child.

The strong individualism, in perfect harmony with the ideal of brotherhood, which goes along with the Christian message is the thing that the youth of Japan needs most. This is what Jesus Christ will give to the youth of Japan and the whole Orient. The consciousness of human unity and solidarity, which has been developed in Japan largely in relation to the family and to the nation, needs to be broadened out into the sense of world brotherhood. But along with it the youth of Japan needs a new surge in the direction of individualism. This has been coming to the young people of Japan to a remarkable degree since the World War. It needs the direction and control of Jesus Christ.

YOUTH OF MANY NATIONALITIES GATHERED BEFORE THE "STUDENTSKY DOMOV" IN PRAGUE, AN INSTITUTION WHICH IS BUILDING INTERNATIONALISM

CHAPTER X

A LEAGUE OF YOUTH

Though they played the major parts in the great war drama, the youth of the world have played no rôle whatever in the drama of the peace. If the first performance was more successfully carried through than the last, youth, at least, is spared the censure which the galleries have heaped upon the elder actors who, costumed as statesmen, have since held forth behind the footlights. Now youth is not seeking to be allowed, once again, to assume the leading rôles which were theirs during the war. They are asking, merely, that their elders who seek to direct the concluding act of that drama recall the ideals contained in the original text, which youth was asked to follow and in its spirit transform that which, up to now, has proven to be a dismal anti-climax to history's greatest tragedy.

Though they admit that the war was inevitable, the youth of the world who fought it and those who have been brought into touch with the problems it has created, realize, increasingly, that in so far as they believed themselves to be fighting for the constructive principles of a new world-order, they have been hoodwinked. A vast num-

ber—the majority perhaps—were swept into the army without conscious convictions on war purposes. But to a vast number of others—college men in particular—the war was a great crusade, the beginning of what would prove to be a world rebuilding of a higher order. It is only necessary to recall the great flood of letters and poems from the trenches and the dominant note which the statesmen of the world sounded to dispel any doubt of this.

"A world safe for democracy," the "war to end wars," "to destroy militarism"—these were a few of the slogans, ideals they were called then, by means of which the youth of America were rallied to support the war. In the high places of government we were told we had no quarrel with the German people, but were fighting to end the system which oppressed them and made them its unwilling victims. It was evident from all this that in this century of enlightenment a war must be conducted by ideals; its destruction—repugnant to the culture of to-day—must be made to appear only the unfortunate but necessary beginning of more permanent reconstruction. Without such idealistic preparation it is doubtful if the youth of America and the world could have been rallied to support the war.

When youth speaks to-day of the so-called practical problems of international relationships —as youth increasingly is speaking—it is in a strange tongue. The language which youth itself

first learned from those who were youth's leaders has proven to be a dead language of obsolete words and phrases, about as generally useful in times of peace as Esperanto. For purposes of war, evidently, it was the current tongue. But when the fighting ended, the voices of those who fought were heard only when they echoed the conventional phrases of rutted diplomacy. So long as the youth of the world persist in inserting the expressions of war-time sentiment into the phraseology of peace-time statesmanship, they are no more welcome at the green tables than if they came bringing hand grenades.

And in no sanctuary of statesmanship were these ideals more persistently proclaimed than on the floor of the United States Senate. The historic rafters of the Capitol reverberated with a high—and genuine—patriotism that reached to our great cantonments and across to our line in France. The high purposes which were heralded burned a way into the hearts of our khaki troops, and the war itself became a great crusade, the filth, the blood, and the death of it merely a dirty business which had to be gone through with to clear the ground for post-war world-rebuilding.

But with the armistice a different language appeared. Our leaders, most of whom had disregarded party affiliations to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion, took up again the party cudgel in behalf of party interests and at the expense of the very ideals which, either by

their active support or because they had offered no opposition, had been held before the fighting men. And therein the fighting men, those who had been inspired by those ideals, were betrayed. If the purposes for which the war was fought were different from those which our leaders proclaimed, then it was a betrayal of trust to remain silent—even though victory itself would have been less sure had they spoken out. If it were deemed necessary to sink party differences in order to enthuse the country for a war and inspire our men to fight it, then even more urgent was the necessity to keep them submerged while the principles which accomplished those ends were being worked into actual practice. If, from the beginning, there was little hope that such a result could be brought to pass, American statesmen, at any rate, sent out American troops to fight under false pretenses.

Party politics, if it was to play a part at all, should have had its say before and during the war itself. Instead it was nourished in seclusion while the war was on and made the means, immediately it was concluded, of destroying whatever chance there was that on the ground our soldiers helped to clear a better world might rise. Either the things for which America was fighting should have been honestly stated, if they were not, or American support should have been unreservedly given for the accomplishment of the purposes which were proclaimed. Just why it was deemed

necessary to send some two million American troops to France during 1917 and 1918, and refuse to send American diplomatic representatives to insure the conservation of the results of the victory which was won, is a question which is difficult to answer.

The Covenant of the League of Nations expressed the sincere attempt of a few statesmen to build a new world-structure somewhat resembling the idealistic blueprints which, for war purposes, had been drawn. But by the time the Covenant was ready for submission to the Senate of the United States it was concluded that political harmony had had its day, and, consequently, the language of the old diplomacy had supplanted that of the war; idealism, if it conflicted with partisanship, was consigned to disuse along with gas masks and machine guns and field artillery as part of the unfortunately necessary war reserve of a great nation. And the government of the United States rejected the League.

Now, of course, the logic of events is against the government. That the Covenant of the League of Nations is an imperfect instrument it is impossible to deny. But one doesn't demand complete perfection even in documents inspired of God. And few would claim such divine advantages for the Treaty of Versailles. Nineteen appendages to the Constitution of the United States furnish rather conclusive evidence of the limits of vision of even the furthest sighted of mankind. But

under the necessity re-enthroning the old order, whatever imperfections appeared in proposals for the new were promptly made the center of attack. By exaggeration, by misinterpretation, by completely ignoring the possibility of modification the Covenant of the League of Nations was pictured as of the devil (meaning, doubtless, of an opposing political party) and certain, if adopted, to involve the world in further hell.

It was in a war-time poster that America is pictured as a Middle-Western farmer, his hand dug down deep into the pocket of his blue jeans, a willing grin on his face, and across the poster these words: "Sure, we'll finish the job." When the Senate of the United States rejected the League of Nations, America was led to believe that, with the military victory accomplished, we had finished the job. The question, then, is, "What job?" We whipped Germany, so we say, and Germany stoutly denies it. And if we did, wherein are we better off? Is the world safe for democracy? or is militarism dead? or is the fellowship of nations a closer reality than in 1914? Is the fact that we forced Germany to sign an armistice to stand as the only memorial to the lads who did not come back? In what way, by finishing the job, have we failed to make conditions worse than they were before we undertook it?

Now, the youth of the world are not out seeking to assume the tasks of those who direct man-

kind's affairs. They do profess to have mental seasoning which would enable them to withstand the strain of such an undertaking. But there is a growing desire to know just why, since old-order methods have served to bring increasing chaos during these postwar years, the ideals of the new order for which youth fought cannot be given fair trial in the courts where world-problems are settled. And there is, likewise, an increasing determination, unorganized and inarticulate, but very actual none the less, to prevent youth from again being made the victims of a war in the declaration or the final settlements of which they will have no share.

Under our present international organization, of course, there is nothing to prevent the victimizing of youth. Channels of international intercourse through which, in times of peace, there comes whatever understanding exists between peoples, are systematically clogged in times of war with filth and dirt and refuse and made to breed the foul germs of prejudice and hate. Even in peace there is little enough untainted communication between nations. Unhampered interassociation of different peoples inevitably creates an appreciative understanding which, for purposes of war, proves an embarrassment. So diplomacy moves on, or around, allowing a bond of international understanding to develop strong enough to permit the necessary transactions of peace, but too weak to prevent the possibility of

war. To declare war or to wage it will be difficult when it becomes evident that the necessary international transactions of peace constitute a unifying force between nations more powerful than the divisive factors artificially imposed by the guardians of the old order. But that time is not yet. And meanwhile other and more uncertain means must be relied upon to keep the world's peace.

It is an obvious fact that from among the youth of the world, and especially from among the student youth, there must come whatever leadership will be found to bring about industrial and political, social, and religious world-rebuilding. We have already seen some of the directions in which the youth spirit is asserting itself in these fields. We have seen it at work in many countries. This spirit, perhaps, is only the reaction which one might expect to find among the youth of any generation when confronted with similar situations. The fact that no other generation has been confronted with these difficulties may explain, in some measure, this revolt of youth, but it does not lessen its significance. On the contrary, the fact that these developments are well founded and the outgrowth of clearly definable circumstances is one indication of their substantiality.

To judge from the lack of constructive progress of the last few years, the problems of reconstruction will be left, largely, on the hands of present-day youth when they attain to their

responsible majority. When, therefore, youth succeeds to the direction of mankind's affairs just what are the general principles which will dominate that leadership in industry and in politics, in social and religious matters? The liberalism revealed in the preceding chapters will be tempered considerably when these youth are of middle age. But if the youth of no other generation have gone through such testing times as these or have assumed the leadership of such momentous undertakings, then we may be justified in expecting from this generation a unique contribution in the settlement of these problems and in laying the foundations of a new world-order.

In industry, and in the great developments which are coming speedily in China, in South America, in India and in Russia one may expect to find something of a new idealism. The war brought about a new understanding between the so-called intellectuals and the laboring classes. Thrown together to share the common lot of the trenches, superficial social barriers were quickly broken down and a genuine appreciation developed which postwar reversion to the old caste environment has not wholly destroyed.

There are, in fact, many evidences that this understanding is growing. The Oxford and Cambridge men who have gone out to teach classes of laborers in the Workers' Educational Association have returned, many of them, with a new industrial vision. The German students

who are obliged, in their self-help enterprises, to join with the workers in manual labor will be less likely to approve of industrial tyranny. In Argentina a student-labor movement has assumed significant proportions. It is not too much to believe that youth will continue to stand for many of the ideals in industry which they accept today: for a better understanding between the employer and the employee; for cooperative management and control of industry; for the organization of business on the basis of service rather than profit.

In the field of politics youth has sworn allegiance to principles no less momentous. It is because the world has been over-politicized that youth has suffered the disillusionments of the past few years, and it is in revolt against the old political order that the youth-spirit is most positively asserting itself. In a country like China, where unscrupulous political leaders have long been a national curse, the young Chinese who are working for the new China are demanding that personal ambitions be subordinated to the nation's interests. Nor is it necessary to look to China for the development of new political idealism. The spirit in which the youth of central and eastern Europe are cooperatively setting about the task of rebuilding the structure of their lives is a spirit in which the politics of selfishness and narrow nationalism will find it difficult to survive.

Whatever petty political differences persist among them, the youth of the world stand in almost universal accord in their opposition to war as a means for the settlement of international disputes. Conditions since 1918 have aroused youth to a consciousness of the utter futility of the World War, of the utter futility of any war. And the secret treaties between statesmen, the international jealousies fostered in misunderstanding by politicians, underground diplomacy —these are condemned as responsible for the atmosphere in which wars are bred. The philosophy of power in international relationships and militarism as the expression of that philosophy likewise are intolerable. With all the nationalistic emphases one finds in the German *Jugendbewegung*, there is a significant lack of any appeal to force as a means for national rebuilding. The widespread support of the League of Nations among the youth is an indication of this cooperative internationalism in politics. There is, everywhere, a desire to minimize the superficial differences between nations which old-order politics has enlarged and build together a new world-order based upon a recognition of the fundamental togetherness of all mankind.

Already, in regard to social problems, the influence of this revolt of youth has brought about far-reaching changes. Chinese social customs and Chinese institutions have been subjected, by the young Chinese, to scientific study and forced

to submit to the pragmatic test. Even the right of parents to exercise absolute domination over their children is called into question and students who have heard from infancy the two thousand-year-old story of filial duty are asking whether it is not time to consider the duties and obligations of parents. In India revolt against caste restrictions has been led, largely, by young students. The German Youth Movement is a spontaneous uprising against the superimposed restrictions of the home, the church, and the school.

In the new social order which youth may build there will be a speedy destruction of superficial conventions and a retention only of those restrictions which make for the progress of society. If their elders see in this possibility a menace to the ideals, particularly of home and of family life, youth will reply that they oppose none of the fundamental ideals of home and family life, but only the superficial, artificial conventions which have grown up about these fundamentals and have served too often as a substitute for them. Since the ideals of the present order in social relationships, worthy though they may be, seem to be failing of realization, youth would strive to refund them in a new social structure built with greater reliance upon intelligence and less upon law.

Finally, in the new world built after the ideals of youth religion will have a more fundamental

place than has ever before been accorded to it. In almost every country where to-day a youth revolt is stirring, religious interests predominate. The focal center of the intellectual renaissance in China is Christianity; in India, in like manner, religious problems are the commanding problems before young students; the *Wandervoegel* of Germany are religious mystics; throughout eastern Europe the students, face to face with life's greatest issues, are more eager for religious counsel than for any other.

Christianity is on trial throughout the world of youth. There is a widespread faith in Jesus Christ, but little belief in the organized expression of his spirit. In many places the church is blamed for the World War. Certainly, there are few places where one finds that youth regards the church as adequately representing either Christ's spirit or his New-Testament ideal. There is a revolt against formalism, against orthodoxy, against competitive divisions in the Christian ranks, and considerable disgust with the superficialities which consume so large a share of the church-expression of Christ. The religion of youth is mystical, often pantheistic and unorganized, but it is based upon the will of the individual man to find his own way to God, and worship him without the restraint of dogma, as he sees fit to do.

To propose the formation of a League of Youth for the more adequate expression of these

principles is merely to advocate an organization for the articulation of a spirit which already exists. The leveling processes of the war have left the youth of the world upon a common plane. There they are meeting common disillusionments and facing common difficulties. From their high place as the saviours of civilization they find themselves relegated, together, to a nonparticipating isolation, no more consulted in piecing together the remnants of the civilization they saved than in shaping the course of events which first placed it in jeopardy. It is in spite of this isolation that the youth are asserting themselves for a new idealism in industry, politics, and in society and religion. While the elder statesmen fret, among the youth of the world there is developing a genuine unity—a unity of spirit, in the atmosphere of which international understanding becomes a practical possibility. A League of Youth would merely organize that spirit.

To say that the youth of the world are meeting upon a common plane and that there is a unity of youth-spirit is not to overlook the fact that there still exist between them many barriers of prejudice and misunderstanding. The miniature of every political party in Europe can be found in some group of the student body of European universities. But these groups develop in proportion to the extent to which the students allow themselves to be swept back into the old ruts to which old-order diplomacy is seeking to

restore the world. Fortunately, there are great numbers of the student youth of Europe, up to the present time, who have refused steadfastly to be swept.

It is true that in the struggle to meet their own immediate and very pressing problems the youth of Poland, for instance, may not recognize that the youth of Austria, dominated by purposes similar to their own, are facing similar problems brought on by much the same conditions. Even where this understanding between youth is not manifest the basis for it exists nevertheless. Never before in the history of the world have so many youth in so many nations been called to pass through so great an ordeal together. As we have noted before, no other generation shares, in common, so vast an experience. Because this understanding is the product of experiences peculiar to this generation, an organization based upon it must develop before another generation arises which does not share in them.

A League of Youth, organized among the youth of the present generation—those who shared in the war and are called upon to meet situations created by it—has, at the outset, advantages which did not favor the League of Nations. Prejudices and suspicions and all of the mechanics of the old diplomacy were a part of the very life of those who set about it to establish the League of Nations. Never did men assume a more colossal task of reformation than those

who signed the Covenant. And, to make the undertaking more difficult, this reformation was to be self-initiated and self-contained. By energetic tugging at their own bootstraps these statesmen sought to lift themselves into another world where prejudices and suspicions and old-order mechanics would drop from them like a cloak and all things be made new. On the negative side youth, at least, has less than this from which to extricate itself.

But on the positive side the understanding which exists to-day among youth cannot, in the very nature of the case, exist among the elder statesmen. Whether or not they accomplish the purposes for which, presumably, they are called, one of the advantages of frequent international conferences of one sort or another is the opportunity they provide for fellowship among the statesmen of different and differing nations. But conferences are expensive; there are many objections to their frequent repetition, especially when their tangible results are not always apparent; only a comparatively few of those who might benefit from such associations are able to share in them; and, under the scrutiny of ubiquitous press-men, the fellowship of one statesman with another, even though the conversation never rises above their glasses, is cabled to the world all heavily cloaked with dark significance.

But understanding, or the possibility of understanding, which is created with such difficulty

among statesmen, already exists among the youth. The war which brought it was expensive and of doubtful issue. But as one of the few constructive results of the war it does exist. And one might ask, therefore, just why nations are obliged to continue to spend their time in fruitless efforts at international settlement and their energies in meeting the disorders of continued unsettlement with no attempt whatever to utilize this powerful and already existing foundation of agreement.

It is not my purpose to outline here a plan for such a League of Youth. In the chapters preceding this it has been my desire to make clear the unity of spirit which exists among the youth of the world. With the existence of that spirit the most essential of the constituent elements in such an organization already is present. What chiefly remains is to provide the mechanics for giving that spirit expression.

A great leader, capable of transcending the artificial lines between nations and of commanding the support of the youth of all lands, is needed to give the initial impulse to such a movement. A man in official position, for instance, the prime minister of England or the President of the United States, could most easily provide this personality. But other great causes wait, apparently in vain, for commanding leadership and are lost for the lack of it. It is doubtless too much to hope for a champion of youth who might arise to

direct this youth-spirit in channels of organized effectiveness.

A great leader coming, say, from America could call together the youth of all nations in a world conference of greater significance than any of the many that have followed the war. In such a conference there would be petty politics and nationalistic passions and race prejudices. But a meeting of this kind held in an American university town, with American students the hosts for the gathering, would, I believe, rise above superficialities and make a significant contribution to the development of international understanding.

Such an experiment in world youth-union would not be wholly without precedent. It may be significant, however, that the most successful efforts to consolidate the youth-spirit on a world-wide basis have been made by distinctly Christian organizations. Doubtless the most noteworthy organization of this kind is the World's Student Christian Federation which, organized twenty-five years ago, unites in its membership two hundred and sixty thousand students in forty nations. It is a tie of deeply founded fellowship that binds together the youth of this organization. Even a short association with them, or a visit to the Student Friendship House in London, or the Studentsky Domov in Prague, or their centers in any one of the chief university cities of the world, furnishes ample evidence of that fact. And the further fact that, at the present time, they are

supporting and directing the administration of the European Student Relief, which is furnishing aid to ninety thousand students in central and eastern Europe, indicates the spirit dominating the movement.

Sir James Barrie, in the Rectorial address delivered at Saint Andrews University in May, 1922, declared: "The League of Nations is a very fine thing, but it cannot save you because it will be run by us. What is wanted is something run by yourselves. You have more in common with the youth of other lands than Youth and Age can ever have with each other; even the hostile countries sent out many a son very like ours, from the same sort of homes, the same sort of universities, who had as little to do as our youth with the origin of the great adventure. . . . You ought to have a League of Youth of all countries as your beginning, ready to say to all governments: 'We will fight each other but only when we are sure of the necessity' . . . I sound to myself as if I were advocating a rebellion, though I am really asking for a larger friendship."

Out of great disorder this larger friendship is reappearing with the reappearance of the youth spirit. In the disillusionment and difficulties and common aspirations of the youth of many nations there is being created a common understanding that transcends the boundaries of nation and of race. In the revelation of their spirit one finds

reason for faith in a reborn world. From the valley of despair they are being lifted—by cooperative fellowship are lifting themselves—to the mountaintop of new vision. There they are being given to see a new heaven and a new earth and a new humanity, and with their vision the old earth and the old humanity, of selfishness and prejudice and hate, may pass away.

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